SOCIALISM INDEPENDENCE

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A movement is growing . . . for an independent socialist Canada

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SASK OIL - It can be done!

by John Richards

"You've got something with that SASK OIL idea. After fifty years, I think maybe I'm becoming a socialist."

We were out at a meeting in Indian Head, 40 miles east of Regina on Highway no 1. The speaker was an old CCF'er and former member of the Saskatchewan legislature.

At Kamsack, a town of 3000 near the Manitoba border, a group of fifty farmers passed a resolution calling for the nationalization of the provincial oil industry.

From Kamsack in the East to Swift Current in the West, from Oxbow down by the US border up to Loon Lake in the North, people are starting to take up the idea that maybe Saskatchewan can show Canada the way – pioneering a new energy policy much as we pioneered in medicare and hospital insurance a generation ago.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the extent of public support at this time for nationalization of the oil industry in Saskatchewan, but the idea has undeniably become an important provincial political issue.

It all started with a series of refinery closures in Moose Jaw and Saskatoon. Refining is a highly capital intensive industry, but nonetheless the loss of jobs, related services, and local tax revenues hurt – especially for Moose Jaw, where two refineries were involved (although one still operates on a restricted basis for asphalt production).

Then on September 30, 1971, Mr. Twaits, Chief Executive Officer and Chairman of the Board of Imperial Oil, called a press conference to announce closure of Imperial Oil refineries in Winnipeg, Regina, and Calgary, and the construction of a huge new refinery in Edmonton. Mr. Twaits has since served as a focus for Saskatchewan anger. Why are decisions about the economic future of our province made in Toronto boardrooms? To make it worse, in boardrooms of Canadian subsidiaries of foreign companies, Imperial Oil being 70% owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey. How can we plan locally if we are subject to such arbitrary corporate decisions?

That year the annual NDP convention passed a resolution calling on the provincial government "to enter the oil industry by establishing an integrated oil company run as a crown corporation." The government did nothing however beyond preparing a few confidential preliminary reports, and so we in the Waffle began independently to prepare the case for public ownership.

Saskatchewan produces approximately 90 million barrels (one barrel – 35 gallons) of oil annually, 20% of Canadian production. The average barrel of Saskatchewan crude oil sold for $2.50 in 1972 and cost, according to estimates from **Oilweek**, an industry trade journal, $1.51 to produce, leaving 99c per barrel as profit. The figure $1.51 includes **all** costs, including prorated exploration and development costs.

On crude oil and gas operations, the industry grossed approximately $98 million profits in 1972 from Saskatchewan production – and that $98 million is based on prices in effect before the recent 30c per barrel price increase in crude oil before the price of natural gas doubles. For all of Western Canada **Oilweek** estimated 1972 profits from oil and gas production at $500 million, up by two thirds from $300 million in 1971.

The Waffle has argued that the government should establish SASK OIL as a provincially run and owned monopoly – engaged in exploration (government geologists estimate one billion barrels of crude to be discovered in the province), producing, refining, and marketing of oil and gas. Repatriating present proven reserves of 900 million barrels would cost $600 million if we compensated the oil companies at a level equal to their costs of discovering the oil in place. However the companies have already recovered their exploration costs (plus handsome profits) because of high administered fuel prices. Morally they deserve no compensation; politically we would probably have to compensate to some extent to avoid a coup d'etat.

Technically and constitutionally, SASK OIL is quite feasible, but politically it obviously implies a major struggle with the corporate giants of oil – Esso, Shell, Gulf, Texaco, etc. SASK OIL would constitute only a minor percentage of the total North American energy market, but Mr. Twaits and his friends realize that it could serve as a precedent for complete public ownership of the energy industry, and a new a national energy policy. Certainly that is how we are presenting the case.

We have, for example, argued that SASK OIL should curtail Saskatchewan oil exports to the US. We are not interested in SASK OIL solely in order to preserve Saskatchewan jobs or to stop the outflow of corporate oil profits, but also as a political and ecological precedent for the country as a whole. We could mobilize support on the basis of SASK OIL reducing fuel prices, but on an ecological basis high fuel prices are justified as a deterrent to wasteful use of a non-renewable resource. High fuel prices are only justified, however, if the surpluses generated stay in the province and in public – not corporate – hands. The surpluses should be used to finance schools and housing and alternate development projects – not dividends to Standard Oil shareholders.

Saskatchewan people are just as concerned about the Mackenzie Valley pipeline and the "energy crisis" as people elsewhere, but we like to bring issues down to earth, get a handle on them, find out what we can locally do about them. This pragmatism may be criticized as parochialism, but one SASK OIL is worth a thousand speeches in advancing the cause of public ownership of Canada's energy resources.

A lot of practical research on SASK OIL remains to be done – for example, on how a provincial government can prevent the oil companies from engaging in a price war to bankrupt SASK OIL before it gets established. However we have done enough for the Waffle to be able to launch a major public campaign for public ownership of the oil industry – under the slogan "SASK OIL – it can be done".

We do not take all the credit, but our efforts are in part responsible for the government feeling obliged to decide – one week before the current legislative session opened – that it had to do something about oil. It has decided to involve itself in oil and gas exploration – unfortunately a dubious end of the business to tackle first because the government has allowed the most promising leases to go into private corporate hands.

Ontario chauvinists may find it difficult to appreciate that most ideas for socialist progress in Canada originated west of the Great Lakes, but for those willing to learn, we in the Saskatchewan Waffle would be glad to provide further information.

Write to:
Waffle Oil Committee
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Regina, Saskatchewan

Notes on Recent History

Unionism and Protectionism

The last few weeks have been eventful – perhaps even record-breaking – ones on the labour news front. In the space of a few days, we saw Dennis MacDermott hailed as the new champion of Canadian nationalism, Donald MacDonald denounced (implicitly) as a Commie, and John Munro emerging, once again, as Canadian labour's strong ally against the U.S. Goliath. The reason for all this frantic activity, of course, was the growing realization by Canadian unionists that U.S. labour meant to put the screws to them. Why has this realization taken so long?

Early in January of 1968, the Financial Post reported on an AFL-CIO conference at which proposals were made for the general restriction of trade. With the first signs of the contraction of the American empire in the face of competition from abroad, the AFL-CIO dramatically switched from its previous commitment to free trade policies.

Things remained relatively quiet, following this first outburst, but we can infer that, within the AFL-CIO-CLC boardrooms, the proposals were hotly debated. For in July, 1970, the CLC issued a press release concerning a speech made by its secretary-treasurer, William Dodge. Dodge "expressed deep concern at the growth of economic nationalism in the U.S." and was particularly distressed with the protectionist philosophy of the AFL-CIO.

Then, in June 1971, a new barrage was initiated by the AFL-CIO. It started with a two-page article in the **American Federationist**, entitled "The Call for New Trade Legislation". The official status of the document was spelled out in the preamble; "The AFL-CIO Executive Council has called for new trade and investment legislation embracing the following concepts." Nine proposals followed, including new tax measures to prevent the export of jobs and production from the U.S., legislation permitting the President to supervise and curb outflows of U.S. capital, similar legislation covering licensing and patents, among others. Later in the summer, **Viewpoint**, the official organ of the Industrial Union Department of the AFLCIO, published a long document, "Time for New Remedies", put together by the President of the IUD and the Steelworkers, I.W. Abel. This was the first in a long series of publications lamenting the death of the U.S. as a manufacturing country.

Canadian labour leaders began to reply in the fall. In October of 1971, the CLC issued a statement on the U.S. import surcharge, calling for special exemption for Canada, but making no mention of the AFL-CIO position. A month later, the OFL's fifteenth annual convention issued a "Statement on the Economy" with a rather fainthearted reference to the U.S. position: "We must not overlook the fact that, whether we like it or not, our economy is closely enmeshed with the much larger American economy and that we are far more seriously affected by any significant changes in their economic policy than by that of the large economic units like the EEC and Japan combined... Any reprisals on our part may unleash sweeping counter measures that would cripple our secondary industry. The protectionist sentiment in the USA seems to be quite strong and is getting support from our counterparts in that country. We are in a weak position for reprisals." The OFL concluded by taking a position that has been faithfully put forward by Canadian union leaders ever since – Canada has a "special relationship" with the U.S., and so we can argue for Canadian exemption from U.S. trade restrictions.

A month later, the BC Federation of Labour met in Convention and took a

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Toronto Labour Conference

Canadian labour faces change in 70's

On March 3-4 at Glendon College in North York, the Waffle labour committee sponsored a weekend seminar on labour. The meetings were attended by 65 to 70 people who heard speakers, and took part in discussions with people both in the Waffle and from the labour movement.

As the weekend developed, the different perspectives of the speakers seemed to start to point like compass needles to the fact that we are heading for a period of upheaval and change in the labour movement that will have far reaching effects.

Its started with a panel of speakers John Hutcheson, Mel Watkins and Bob Laxer developing some ideas to form a framework of skeleton for the rest of the weekend.

From Karl Marx's essay "Wage, Labour and Capital", John Hutcheson extracted the definition of capitalism as "a society of commodity production, in which labour power is a commodity (something which can be bought and sold) and in which capitalists accumulate property by the purchase of the labour power of the workers, who are forced to sell it to them because they, the capitalists, own the means of production. It is this simple economic fact that the capitalists derive unpaid labour and therefore surplus value from their workers that is the basis for the creation of classes and class struggle which is the struggle of the workers with their bosses."

To this backbone of ideas, Bob Laxer added, "because workers are in competition with each other to sell their labour power, to defend themselves against being divided, they developed unions in which they gained collective strength and bargaining power by presenting a common front to the bosses." This right was not given, but won by the workers in a bitter and uneven struggle with the bosses and the state mechanism that they control.

He went on to say "in the course of the struggle, workers build unions or organizations and these structures are the material embodiment of working class gains. The working class measures its strength by the strength and muscle of its organizations, and the working class traditions of a country are largely intertwined with its organization." But like every other structure, however, the union organization represents the conservative or status quo side of the labour movement. The other side is new struggles, new programs, new consciousness, which at the highest level is anti-imperialist consciousness. But to justify their position, the ruling class develops a view of human nature compatible with their system. This is a false view of the nature of the human being."

The spreading of such false counsciousness is facilitated by the fact that a segment of the people, professional and better paid workers, have reached a standard of living appreciably above that of the mass of people. These ideas receive substantial support from a "labour aristocracy" and a "labour bureaucracy" which establishes itself in the trade union movement.

Mel Watkins went on to examine the idea of a labour aristocracy in its relationship to the metropolis hinterland aspect of imperialism. Lenin in "Age of Imperialism" had further developed the idea that a section of the working class of an imperial power because of its monopoly on labour power in certain areas, develops an imperialist ideology which alienates it from the mass of its own proletariat. Also because development under capitalism is uneven by regions, by industries, by nations, this diversity of conditions leads to the fragmentation of the labour movement in both the imperial power and the colonial power. Also as a result of this, a simple economist or non-political ideology prevails.

In applying this to Canada which is both dependent on the US and developed in its own right, you find a section of the working class, a "labour aristocracy", that is conservative in nature and non nationalist in outlook. It is not pro-imperialist but it is not anti-imperialist in relation to its own country. And it is locked into American dominated international unions.

But as a result of the increase in anti-imperialist rivalry, and the growing costs of imperialism, the labour aristocracy in the US which controls the international unions is seeing unemployment and a stabilization or fall in real income among union members. As a result of its economist outlook it has become protectionist.

This creates a major contradiction for the Canadian labour aristocracy, which can listen to its own economist bureaucracy (which is obviously ineffective) or be forced out of self preservation to swing away from its business unionism into a new political expression of its own to fight the deindustrialization of this country. To quote Jim Laxer – "This puts the so called labour aristocracy right in the centre stage position of Canadian radical politics today. And along with it the white collar service sector which is badly over extended in comparison with the actual manufacturing sector today. It is on these people that the pressure will be in the '70s. And the real issue is not the pay but whether there will be jobs at all for young workers and for their children."

But what history is there of labour potential for change and struggle? On the Saturday afternoon panel, Doug Campbell, Jim Tester, Bill Walsh and others on the floor presented a series of dramatic insights into both labour's ability at progressive struggle on the one hand, and on the other, the violence of the forces of reaction. As they describe scenes from first hand experience, we were seeing the meat and muscle added to the bones laid out by Hutcheson, Watkins, Laxer, Craven and Littleton.

Doug Campbell's first memories of Sydney Mines in Cape Breton around 1910: "I must have been 6 or 7 but I remember the army in the streets, pillboxes and machine guns on each corner, and the British fleet in the harbour, in case it turned into a revolution. All this in reaction to strikes of miners in support of steelworkers trying to get their first contract and who understood the term industrial serfdom imposed by the British Empire Iron and Steel Corporation. It was so bad that men came home on payday with only a stub to list the deductions. And what were the ideas behind the strikes? A slow down arranged by J.B. McLauchlan gives an insight into how they thought. "Let's strike at the heart of capitalism-surplus value – let's only produce what we are paid for", he urged the miners.

And later the organizing led by the Worker's Unity League during and before the depression when labour bureaucrats were saying you can't organize, and if you do organize you can't strike, and if you do strike you can't win. The WUL did organize, did strike and did win, despite action like that of the government which sent tanks in to break up general strike in Stratford in 1933 over police violence to female strikers at a Canada Packers plant. The strike was won.

Because of these and other actions, industrial unions were brought into Canada. They were mainly international unions. This was to have a great importance later on.

But with the good came the bad side of unions: the bureaucrats and business unionism. We heard stories of Silby Barrett who curbed the militants in District 26 United Mine Workers and Aaron Mosher, the head of a railway workers union who pursued a pro-business course. These were the leaders of business unionism, the start of the economist rather than the political approach to trade unions.

We heard stories of the 1946 strike in Hamilton, and of the roles played by people like Charlie Millard and Larry Sefton who helped stamp out political militancy in the union movement, and which was to lead eventually to the destructive raiding of the Mine Mill by the Steelworkers in Sudbury. But union solidarity proved to be stronger, and Mine Mill went out in support of Steel in 1969 to prove once again who the real enemy is.

And what are the concrete signs of these pressures today? Ask Shirley Carr, the national vice-president of CUPE if the struggle with the boss is less bitter.

She outlined the tactics used to prevent the organization of unions. Harry Greenwood, who recently challenged Lynn William's presidency of District 26 of the Steelworkers, documented the case for rank and file control illustrating the need for change.

Yvonne Trower, of the Waffle Women's group struck out at the sexist aspect of male trade unionists, calling for genuine equality for women workers. She said that women were becoming an active force in the labour movement and will have to be recognized as such.

But what is the role of socialists in all this? Bob Laxer made the following comments: "Scientific socialism has to be brought in an organized way into the labour movement by socialists. For without a growing unity between trade union structure and socialist consciousness there can be no workers movement towards independence and socialism in Canada. Socialist analysis and consciousness are needed to help unions play their potentially historic roles as Marx put it: "Trade unions without being aware of it, become the focal points for the organization of the working class, just as the medieval municipalities and communities became such for the bourgeoisie."

Bob Laxer went on to say: "The working class traditions of a country are very largely intertwined with the organizations they have built but gains in social consciousness are the most important and lasting gains that workers can make-even more important than their organizational gains. For when workers have changed their consciousness they can transform existing organizations to meet their needs and create new ones.

"It is important to recognize that the cutting edge will be the new ideas, programs and fighting mood of the workers. The attempt to find the solution to new anti-imperialist struggles by way ofthe shortions is mechanical and uncreative. It is the classical logical problems."

Jim Laxer summed up in this way: "If the Canadian working class is going to carry out an independent socialist strategy it has to have the sovereign control of its own institutions and that means complete control. I think the role the socialist movement should be following in the 70's is in the broadest sense an educational, political role, or joining to work with people in the trade union movement to try to bring about the kind of general change of consciousness which we've seen taking place in Quebec, through educationals, research, publishing and so on.

"We should also assist in the organizing of the unorganized workers for any legitimate union in Canada, that asks us to help in that kind of work, and we should also work to support strikes wherever workers invite us on the picket line or where any legitimate union asks us to help them. And by doing this in the 70's, we will be working for an independent socialist Canada."

by Patrick Crawley

More on Unionism and Protectionism

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firmer line with regard to the August 1971 Nixonomics adventures. They adopted a report which stated "it is especially saddening that President Nixon had the support of the AFL-CIO Executive Council for these restrictive measures. We believethat, like the AFL-CIO support for the war, this reflects the tendency under George Meany's leadership to adopt easy policies rather than genuine leadership... We believe that U.S. society is heading for a crisis and that labour there will have to bestir itself to avoid being aligned totally and permanently with forces of reaction."

The next salvo was fired in February 1972, with the presentation of a report entitled "The Crisis Deepens" to the Executive Board Meeting of the AFL-CIO Maritime -Trade Department. This document explicitly supports the "Foreign Trade and Investment Act of 1972", more infamous as the Burke-Hartke Bill. It is rumoured that the Bill was drafted by the AFL-CIO. In the words of the Maritimes Trade Department:

"The bill calls for the creation of a Foreign Trade and Investment Commission to administer the basic provisions of the Act. Specifically, the Act calls for:

– The removal of special advantages for American corporations which own plants overseas by making U.S. taxes payable on income from foreign as well as domestic sources in the year they are earned. This will be a deterrent against foreign investment which has result in the export of United States patents and technology.

– A method to regulate the massive rise in imports which has already cost hundreds of thousands of US jobs. The bill aims at maintaining future imports at the same percentage they represented in the 1965-1969 period. The main drawback to this is the use of the arbitrary base period. For certain commodities an earlier base period will be necessary. Obviously this would not apply to commodities not produced or grown in the United States. Also excused would be those goods already under quotas and those under voluntary agreements.

– Sections 807 and 806.30 of the tariff code would be repealed, ending an abuse whereby US companies assemble products in foreign countries and ship them into the United States as "Made In USA", paying only a minimum duty on the so-called "value added", the cost of the cheap foreign labor.

– Procedures for the collection of more pertinent data on foreign trade and labelling procedures...

– A Foreign Trade and Investment Commission to administer the new programme..."

On March 6, the CLC issued a press release arguing that U.S. protectionism posed a serious threat to Canadian workers. U.S. union support of protectionism, although not the AFL-CIO specifically, was mentioned in passing. The CLC's line on U.S. labour hardened slightly in May, with the publication of the "General Economic Policy Statement", which said, in part, "We are especially disturbed about strong, powerful groups in the United States, including important groups within the country's trade union movement, who are pressing Congress to pass the Hartke-Burke bill."

This was the meekest kind of pussy-footing compared to the stance of the B.C. Federation.

Despite assurances from their American counterparts, Canadian union leaders found it worth their while at this point to hang around the offices of the internationals, campaigning for exemption. They argued that Canada exports mainly raw materials to the U.S., thus creating jobs for American workers. Dodge told the press, "We support the intention of this bill, which is to curb cheap imports from 'slave-wage' countries like Japan and Taiwan, but Canada is not the same as those countries." When, in the light of this trade policy conflict, some dared to question the usefulness of international unions, Dodge argued that it was precisely because Canadians belonged to internationals that they were able most successfully to plead for exemption.

The latest round began with an AFL-CIO Executive Council meeting, in Bal Harbour, Florida; the meeting became rather quickly a publicity forum for the virtues of Bruke-Hartke. It appeared that the Canadian brass had given up the fight; the Toronto **Globe** asked "Why are the top leaders of the CLC not here to put their case – at least for a concession or exemption for Canada – before Mr. Meany and the AFL-CIO Executive Council?" The Canadians replied, not in tones of indignation that they should be asked to plead for mercy from their "brothers", but more in tones of disgruntlement that the "brothers" didn't want to listen to their pleas. CLC Research Director Russell Bell said "It wouldn't be worth a twenty-five cent streetcar ride. They've made up their minds solidly".

While all this was going on, the Maritime Trades Department released yet another report, "The Dimming of America". To quote from it, "The greatest industrial power in the world's history is in danger of becoming nothing more than a nation of hamburger stands – a country stripped of industrial capacity and meaningful work ... a service economy ... a nation of citizens busily buying and selling cheeseburgers and root beer floats."

So Bar Harbour made it excessively clear that the American branches of the internationals were committed to super-protectionism to wage the fight against the multinational corporations. Other strategies were dismissed outright. The best example of this was a series of events that must be seen as an attack on an old Canadian proposal; that truly international union organizations be formed and strengthened to fight the multinationals everywhere they operate. AFL-CIO opposition to this strategy was implicitly made clear to the Brothers assembled at Bal Harbour. Delegates sat through a long, red-baiting attack on the ICFTU and the proposed common-market union centre, replete with dark references to a "Moscow-London axis" that was supposedly perverting the grand AFL tradition of bread and butter unionism with apple pie on the side.

So this was the situation by Saturday, February 23, the date that Labour Minister John Munro decided to become the militant spokesman of the working class in Canada. Speaking at a meeting of the Halton-West – Halton-Wentworth Liberal Association, Munro pontificated on the dangers of Hartke-Burke and AFL-CIO protectionism. "Undoubtedly, business interests and the AFL-CIO ... are the impressive lobbyists for such ... protection-oriented legislation", he said half-correctly. The clincher was soon to come, as Munro announced for all Hamilton Liberals to hear, "I am dedicated to Canadian union autonomy within the international structure."

This was obviously the golden opportunity for Canadian union leaders to air some feeling, in the relatively safe arena of the Canadian media. What could not be whispered at Bal Harbour could be shouted quite safely here. The Canadian leadership of the internationals split. One camp, with Steelworkers' Director Mahoney as its spokesman, denounced Munro and defended the Internationals. Mahoney argued that the Canadian Steelworkers already have substantial autonomy, and that Hartke-Burke poses no threat to Canada; "I. W. Abel, international Steelworkers president, last fall assured Canadian members the union would press for an exemption for Canada from the bill's provisions." Mahoney neglected to mention that at Bal Harbour Abel had calmly presided at a session where the very idea of exemptions was laughed down.

The other camp had as its leader Dennis McDermott, who supported Munro and called for greater Canadian autonomy within the international structures. He used the occasion as a chance for an attack on the Council of Canadian Unions, thus perpetrating one of the many sideshows in the current circus. McDermott stated, in part, "It is my current belief that unless international unions in Canada can make some fairly drastic accommodations and adjustments to the needs of the current emotions that exist in this country, then the role of international unions is in serious jeopardy. I don't want the labour movement in Canada to fall into the hands of Mickey Mouse all-Canadian unions."

While all this scurrying around may delude us into thinking that the big fight going on right now is between the U.S. and Canadian branches of the internationals, that is not the real story at all. The big fight – and one that has been going on for several years – is between the AFL-CIO and President Nixon; the issue is not free trade versus protectionism, but how much protectionism. Nixon's wary courting dance around Meany has been rebuffed several times; for instance, the AFL-CIO denounced dollar devaluation as a technique to redress trade imbalances. The U.S. labour organization is holding out for the big plum – Hartke-Burke. In this intricate manoeuvring for power, the Canadian membership of the internationals in a minor nuisance, to be warded off with half-hearted reassurances and vague promises, but not to be taken seriously.

This is unfortunate, for it is clear that if Hartke-Burke, or something similar, becomes official U.S. trade policy, the implications for Canada will be enormous. Already we have witnessed a decline in manufacturing jobs, relating to the relatively mild protectionism of DISC and the surcharge. The situation now is quite clear; the policies that are being pushed very hard by the U.S. leadership of the internationals are partly directed at destroying jobs in Canada. If the Canadian leadership had taken a firmer and more public position a year ago, or two years or five, perhaps the AFL-CIO position would not be as firm today. As it is, the Canadian stand is probably too weak and too late to make much of a difference.

Hartke-Burke may very well not become law. Contrary to the opinions of some of its leadership, the AFL-CIO does not rule America; and the multinationals are fully in favour of a free-trade policy. Probably, we will see some compromise position worked out, along the lines of early Nixonomics. But be that as it may, the Canadian leadership of the internationals can no longer afford to close its eyes to the fact that Canadian labour will often have different interests from labour in the U.S., precisely because of the impact of American imperialism on the Canadian economy. It would be a supreme irony, culminating this long and convoluted story, were Richard Nixon to ally himself with Canadian labour in his trade policy battle with the AFL-CIO.

by Paul Craven

"letters"

In getting to the heart of the debate of a strategy to independent unions we ask the simple question, can the Waffle support the drive of workers to independent unions as manifested in the Kitimat, Trail, Salmo etc. struggles with the United Steelworkers of America?

In the paper, Trade Unions as Working Class Organizations, delivered by Bob Laxer at the recent labour educational – Toronto March 3/73, he concludes, as we understand it, that these recent struggles in the B.C. labour movement are "spontaneous, short-cut organizational solutions, mechanical and uncreative." This appears to be based on the idea (and here we apologize for simplifying it due to lack of space), that more socialist consciousness can be developed in reforming existing union structures towards autonomy than can be developd by creating new independent unions – or boring from within will be more successful than building anew from without. This position was given support by Bill Walsh in his comments that the Council of Canadian Unions is a "bourgeois nationalist flag-waving" movement and by Mine Mill executives Jim Tester and Ed. Nitchie in their defense of pulling out of the C.C.U. because of its "policy of raiding".

Waffle members should examine these biased charges, and investigate more fully the theory of autonomy within the C.L.C.. One observes that this strategy has met with little success in the C.L.C. to date. We must also look closely at the drive to independent unions outside the C.L.C., keeping in mind the resultant bitter attacks by the C.L.C., the lack of support from the N.D.P. and the bureaucratic delays by the B.C. Labour Relations Board in attempting to prevent a free vote by Kitimat workers. Wafflers must arrive at our own independent conclusions based on factual information free from innuendoes and not limited to academic debate.

We request that enough time be given at the next council meeting for an open discussion and that all Wafflers prepare themselves to participate in this most crucial question.

Susan Quinn
Allaine Armstrong
Charlotte McEwen
Louise Mather
Marilyn Hindmarch
Pat Smart
Esther Mathews
Sheila McFadzean
Sharleen Treleaven
Members of the Ottawa Waffle Women's Group

publications

Programme for Ontario trade unionists - Waffle Labour Committee Ontario Federation of Labour Convention 1971 – 25 cents

Canadian Resources - a supplement prepared by Wafflers and published in Last Post – 10 cents

Lament for an Industry - (on the Canada-U.S. auto pact) - James Laxer Last Post 1971 – 10 cents

The Waffle Manifesto for an Independant Socialist Canada - 25 cents

The Waffle, Canadian Independence, socialism, and culture - two talks by John Smart and Robin Mathews given at Ottawa Waffle educationals December, 1972 – 50 cents

Papers on building the Waffle - Brantford workshop, December 1972 – 50 cents

BOOKS – the Waffle maintains for sale a library of books on Canadian independence and socialism. Current titles in stock include: **The Energy Poker Game, Gordon to Watkins to You, Silent Surrender, Close the 49th Parallel, Etc.**

Bumper stickers

50 cents each 25 cents to Waffle groups in bulk - AVAILABLE FROM: Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto

GERMANY

JA

Devaluation - Good

It's Saturday March 9th. In the nature of a crisis, the deadline matters. Most of Europe's exchange markets, and many in other parts of the world, have been closed for a week, and will remain closed at least for next week. No-one knows for sure what's required to get them open again, and when they do open certainly no-one knows what will happen.

Clearly, this crisis is for real.

Not that most of us should need convincing by now. The mighty American dollar was effectively devalued by freeing it from gold on August 15, 1971, and its lesser value relative to the currencies of the major trading partners of the U.S. made official by the Smithsonian agreement of December 1971. In little more than a year, on February 12 1973, the U.S. had decided formally to devalue its dollar by 10%. In a matter of days it was again under such sustained attack as to require the closing of markets. Of currencies floating, mostly upwards, the overall depreciation of the U.S. dollar since August 1971 has now reached 20 to 40% against a number of currencies.

The fault lies, at the first level, with the speculators, who move monies to make money. On March 1 alone, European central banks had to absorb $3.5 billion hot U.S. dollars; on the 2nd they closed their doors. The process is parasitical and disruptive, but under capitalism mostly rational and functional.

The speculators are not so much a breed unto themselves as the normal functionaries in exchange markets; the multinational corporations (mostly American-based), the Middle East Oil potentates, the international bankers (the gnomes of Zurich) – and in that order of importance. They move currencies, swapping the weak for the strong, ahead of revaluations they anticipate and thereby protect themselves. In effect, they speed up adjustments which they deem necessary because of deeper structural faults. In the process they avoid the losses they would otherwise incur from holding weak currencies at the time of their devaluation.

But they can, and did go further than that. They may, in the delicate language of the business press, over-protect themselves. Thereby they not only avoid losses but reap windfall gains. As the European financial director of U.S. – based Johnson's Wax put it: "We don't believe in gambling against the U.S. dollar. But with assets in Germany, England and Japan, we made a handsome profit."

International crap game

The losers in this international crap game are the central bankers of the countries with the strong currencies – in this case, Germany and Japan in particular – whose holdings of billions of American dollars have depreciated drastically in terms of the mark and the yen. In the immediate aftermath of February 12, the German central bank alone lost $2.6 billion.

The capacity of the multi-nationals to play the lead-role in pulling the plug on the U.S. dollar is a tribute to their vastly increased role in exchange markets as side-effect of their growing number and size. A study by the U.S. Tariff Commission estimates that at the end of 1971 private enterprises engaged in international business held $268 billion in short-term liquid assets, a large proportion by U.S. multi-nationals and banks. Such a volume of short-term assets is more than double the total of international reserves held by all the world's central banks and international monetary institutions. A massive crisis can result from movement of only a small portion of that $268 billion. It took only $8 billion to close foreign exchange markets in the week of February 12 and, as noted, $3.5 billion on March 1 to close European markets.

Now whether the multi-nationals really know what they are doing is debatable.

The masters of the multi-nationals may imagine they stand above all nation-states, including the U.S. as home-base, in international monetary matters, but it is possible they are playing with fire. For the chaos they are sowing in exchange markets may erode the willingness of governments to maintain the open door to capital movements – and even the freedom to trade itself – that is of the essence for the multinational corporation. They risk bringing down the whole house of cards; while the risk may be small, the result would be catastrophic for them.

The core of the problem is however, that U.S. is living beyond its means. For years American dollars have been pumped outwards, eventually to reach glut proportions in the hands of everybody else's central bankers. It's been an aid program in reverse, far overwhelming real U.S. aid. In effect, other countries have been financing U.S. activities abroad, otherwise called imperialism. By August 1971, the situation had gotten out of hand.

Some of the dollar outflow has been offshore spending for the troops in Vietnam. In spite of its lessening, the crisis persists, and it is significant that the business press makes no more than passing reference to relief from this quarter.

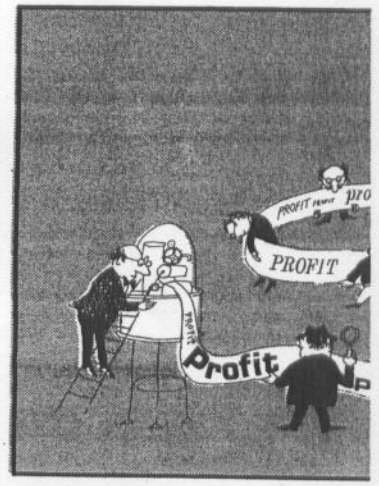
A sizeable chunk results from new investments abroad by U.S.-based multi-nationals. The Johnson Administration's balance-of-payment directives to direct investment firms tried to contain the then festering crisis of the U.S. dollar by operating directly on the activities of the multi-nationals, but to little avail. The chief reason is simply that controls of this type quickly lose their effectiveness. For direct investment abroad, after a short time-lag, stimulates exports to the country that is being invested in and a backflow of earnings on capital. Every hinterland country knows that, and so too does the Nixon Administration.

Hence, the dollar crisis notwithstanding, the Nixon Administration is in the process of phasing out controls on capital flows and direct investment abroad with the intention of ending them by the end of 1974.

The decision is significant, for it means that the Nixon Administration has no intention of solving the problem in a way that would reduce the freedom of the U.S. multi-nationals. That, in turn, has great significance for the American worker, who will have to continue to worry about his job being shifted to a foreign country and who will therefore continue to be protectionist, and for the foreign country, which will be expected to keep the door open to the U.S. corporation while making trade concessions, so as to increase its imports and decrease its exports, but whose willingness to comply may exhaust itself at some point.

It remains to be seen, however, whether devaluation will solve the crisis.

If devaluation itself cannot turn the trick – "Without changes in trade you can change exchange rates until hell freezes over, and you won't get a thing", says U.S. Secretary of the Treasury George Schultz – then trade concessions are necessary and inevitable. In effect, the Nixon Administration is saying: "Look at our trade deficit. It's caused by unfair trade practices by our major trading partners. Change them – which is the



free-trade route – or we'll retaliate in kind – which is the protectionist route." Either scenario is intended to make other countries do the losing.

That the U.S. has a trade deficit, and a growing one, is not in doubt. The 1971 deficit of $2.7 billion was the first in this century; in 1972 it increased to $6.8 billion, and the fat was in the fire for the second and still incomplete round of currency adjustments. The U.S. is now running a deficit with every major trading partner, including the European Common Market as a whole.

Why the trade deficit?

But that still leaves the question: Why the trade deficit? The answer is the increasing inability of the U.S. to compete in world markets. The U.S. is becoming increasingly dependent on foreign trade, with the ratio of imported goods to domestic demand increasing from 7.6% in the 1960-64 period to 8.9% in 1972. At the same time, there was a persistently low U.S. rate

PAN

UNITED STATES

old - fashioned greed

of investment in new plant and equipment – equivalent to about 10% of GNP or half the rate in Europe and Japan – and to slow gains in productivity.

So much for Nixon's allegation of unfair trade practices by other countries. But even that is not the main point. For what is in effect being said is that the vaunted U.S.-based multi-national corporation has undermined U.S. industrial strength. Who else are

we to blame for the U.S. competitive weakness?

Time's recent quip, "Once upon a very recent time, only a banana republic would devalue its money twice within 14 months", may cut deeper than the business press is yet willing explicitly to admit.

The essence of Nixonomics can now be appreciated. The intent is to leave the capital account in the balance of payments alone and to affect trade by protectionism – by the threat thereof and, if necessary by the practice thereof. Its practice is already in evidence and is likely to become increasingly so. The AFL-CIO is openly and stridently protectionist and Nixon wants to bring them into a new Republican coalition, just as Roosevelt did for the Democratic Party. How else are we to explain the fact that new Secretary of the Treasury Schultz is an industrial relations expert who, in the midst of the great dollar crisis, finds time to golf with George Meany?

Nixon is presumably trying to get the best of both worlds by going to bed with both the multi-nationals and the labour aristocrats. The former are guaranteed freedom to invest where they want, but subject to the right of the U.S. to use protectionist measures to encourage them to produce a bit more in the U.S.

Echoes of the Great Depression

But the Nixon Administration may also be playing with fire. Protectionism in one country can trigger off protectionism in other countries, and as it spreads, trade withers; so it was that the Great Depression of the 1930's was truly great. To the extent that the multi-national corporation has more or less self-sufficient operations in each country, it can survive that effect. But, in fact, even the old-fashioned multi-national which goes abroad to produce behind tariff walls, and therefore approximates such a pattern, tends to produce parts and components in the U.S. for export and assembly abroad. The new-style multi-national is even more vulnerable. It tends to divide its activities up among countries so that no one country produces any product itself, and to site labour-intensive activities in low-wage countries and capital-intensive activities in high-wage countries.

Spreading protectionism is a real threat to the corporations.

Nixon is trying to stage-manage a delicate manoeuvre both at home and abroad, but his capacity to do the latter is increasingly dependent on the reactions of other countries. The strong-currency countries, such as Japan and Germany, are not, in the nature of the case, powerless. Being part of the problem, they can demand the right to be part of the solution. They can live with Nixonomics, including some protectionism, by themselves investing in the United States. Indeed, that is what they are already doing, and we can expect to see more of it. In the past decade, European-based and Japan-based multi-nationals have been growing more rapidly than U.S.-based multi-nationals. Sony Corporation has already started producing television sets in a new plant in San Diego, and there are reported plans by Nissan and Toyota to set up auto plants in the U.S. west coast.

The name of this game is clearly heightened inter-imperialist rivalry. It resolves contradictions in the short-run but, if history is to be our guide, deepens them in the long-run.

Nor is the patience with the U.S. on international monetary matters, at least of the European countries, infinite. The widespread expectation of the press that the March 8 meeting of finance ministers would lead to a settlement that would permit the re-opening of exchange marketing the following Monday has not been realized, and apparently because the European countries, particularly Germany, are insisting that the U.S. make some contribution to the process of adjustment – such as heading off a major new round of inflation (U.S. wholesale prices rose at an annual rate of 19.2% in December, 13.2% in January, and another 19.2% in February, the most rapid in 22 years) and contrary to the policy of the Nixon Administration putting limits on capital exports by U.S. multinationals.

Another rumoured tactic is for the European Common Market countries to peg their currencies against each other and have a common float against the American dollar a device that would strengthen Europe's collective hand, at least symbolically, vis-a-vis the United States. Resistance to this "European solution" – in contrast to U.S. solutions which are called "international" – comes from the new entrant Britain, whose currency and economy are sweak. Some such move to a common European currency is inevitable at some point, and what it will signify is Europe's waxing and America's waning.

Canada - odd country out

In all of this, Canada is the odd-country out. Though we are the United States' major trading partner, we have been involved hardly at all in the wheelings and dealings of the past month. Between February 7th and 13th, while the U.S. worked out the devaluation of the 12th, Paul Volcher, the U.S. Under Secretary of the Treasury, flew from Tokyo to Bonn to London to Rome to Paris to Bonn to Washington, an itinerary from which Ottawa is conspicuously absent.

Yet more telling evidence of the purely passive role in which the U.S. has cast Canada is that the U.S. dollar devaluation has not led to any significant change in the value of the Canadian dollar relative to the American dollar. Our currency, though floating, was effectively devalued against other currencies, except the U.S. dollar, by the U.S. devaluation of February 12 – and except those currencies which were formally devalued in lock-step with the U.S., for example, the Mexican peso, the Israeli pound, the South Korean won and the Greek drachma. There is little satisfaction to be had from being part of such a list, one characterized by **Time** as "moneys of nations that are greatly dependent on the U.S. for trade, aid, investment or tourism."

Since devaluation will not turn the trick – and there is wide agreement with Schultz on this particular point – Canada is not out of the woods, but rather the precise opposite. On the U.S. list of trade concessions, the auto pact with Canada and other special "favours" we have been granted over the years when U.S. imperialism could afford to be more benign, are presumbably well-up.

That's not to deny that the U.S. would like to clobber Japan, and Germany to boot, but it's hard to clobber the strong – and these nations are strengthening. Canada is less of a threat to the U.S., but also more easily dealt with, exactly because our industry is already uncompetitive, like theirs only more so, and highly vulnerable because of its reliance on U.S. favours. No do we have corporations ready and able to play de multi-national game.

The international monetary crisis cuts deep for Canada, and the fact that it has hardly registered in the House of Commons is simply more cause for concern. The solutions are increasingly stark. On the one hand, we can follow the advise of U.S. Senator Hartke (of Burke-Hartke infamy), accept complete free trade with the U.S. and, to show our good faith, let the auto pact go and with it, in all likelihood, the automotive industry.

On the other hand, we can opt for independence. That means no trade concessions to the U.S., and then the commitment to work out the national policy we will need – across the board, in resources and in industry – when that hits the great American fan.

by Mel Watkins

Costs high *Returns low*

The farmer is the man that feeds us all

By Steve Paulsson

Most Canadians are aware that rural Canada is in a state of crisis. The nature of the crisis can be simply put: rapidly rising farm input costs have conspired with relatively static output prices to make farming an economically hazardous occupation; the result has been that some 20,000 farms now shut down each, year, and perhaps 100,000 people – farmers and their families, farm workers, and residents of small towns dependent on agriculture – drift into the cities to compete for already-scarce jobs and housing.

City-dwellers tend to assume that this phenomenon is merely a continuation of the urbanization process started by the Industrial Revolution, and government technocrats and the public at large assume that it is natural and unavoidable. A careful examination of present-day rural depopulation, however, reveals it to be radically different from the urbanization of the early nineteenth century. Then, the movement to the cities was associated with the transition from a feudal subsistence-agriculture economy to an industrial economy in which farming became a specialized industry; able, because of radical technological change, to produce marketable surpluses far in excess of its own needs. Now, the class structure of Canadian society is not in a state of rapid change; new agricultural technology consists of improvements in degree rather than kind; and the quantity of agricultural production is limited by the lack of profitable markets rather than by the ability of farmers to produce.

The root of the current rural crisis is that the Canadian farmer is too efficient: the market for food products, controlled by a handful of multinational giants, is unable to dispose of farm outputs at a price which optimizes the profits of the corporate ("agribusiness") sector of the food industry; thus, "surpluses" exist in most food commodities – surpluses, not to the need for food, especially in world-wide terms, but to demand on the part of those who can afford to pay a profitable price.

Thus, agribusiness has been unable to find significant new markets for its products, and has been forced to resort to other means of improving its profit position and extending its control – switching consumer demand away from low-profit natural foods to high-profit "gimmick" foods containing a large proportion of synthetic and processed low cost ingredients through the use of Motivational Research advertising techniques, and expanding into sectors of the food industry currently controlled by independent operators such as farmers, small processing plants, and corner grocery stores.

In the U.S., agribusiness expansion into farming has taken the form of vertical integration; vast corporate farms, employing thousands of poorly paid workers, and owned by firms which have interests in every level of food production, processing, distributing and retailing, are familiar to anyone who has become acquainted with the issues surrounding the California grape boycott.

In Canada, corporate farming has to date been limited in extent, although significant in some commodity areas, such as poultry. The fact that Canadian agribusiness exhibits a high degree of concentration and hence market control, frequently assisted by the existence of government-controlled marketing boards, means that there is a simpler way for the corporate sector to achieve its goal of higher profitability: to force low input costs and higher output prices at the expense of the "soft", relatively unorganized components in the food chain – the farmers and the consumers. Thus farmers are exposed to rapidly rising costs and prices which do not keep pace with inflation, while consumer food prices are a major contributor to that inflation.

Examining the behaviour of prices and costs over the 1961-71 decade, we find that at the end of 1971:

– farm input costs had risen 72%
– farm output prices had risen only 18%
– consumer food costs had risen 33%

The total net income of farmers in 1971 was marginally lower that in 1952, and although there are fewer farmers now than 20 years ago to share this income, the purchasing power of the dollar has declined sufficiently that the real standard of living of the remaining farmers has not improved, despite more efficient and larger-scale production methods. Since the 1971 average annual net income was $2700 per farm, that standard of living is not a high one.

The Response of Farmers

It has long been apparent to Canadian farmers that the weak and unorganized are easy prey to the periodic depression and inflationary crises of capitalism, and have little staying power with which to last out disasters, whether meteorological or financial.

Attempts to organize farmers date as far back as 1874, with the introduction into Canada of the Grange, an American, masonic-style organization. The Grange elected seventeen members to the Ontario legislature in 1894, and established links with the labour movement in the same year.

The individualism and conservatism exhibited by many farmers have, however, made organizing farmers a difficult and frustrating task. When inter-organizational rivalries have yielded to such united front movements as the United Farmers or the Progressives, it has been at the price of programmatic vagueness which had proved politically paralyzing.

The socialist imput into the farm movement through the CCF and its predecessors has been ideologically utopian, and has placed the main organizational thrust into the formation of counter-structures such as cooperatives and credit unions, and into pressuring governments to establish marketing boards such as the Wheat Pool.

In the long run, these counter-structures have been hamstrung by governments favourable to agribusiness interests, and constrained by the necessity of buying and selling on markets controlled by the same interests. A case in point is the Ontario Milk Marketing Board, which we will discuss next month along with the Kraft Boycott.

First of Two parts

Barbara Eady of Carp, Ontario tried to lower her food costs through one of the many freezer food plans available. She wrote this letter about her experience with Horn's Provisioner Plan. Horn is located in Scarborough, Ontario and is a subsidiary of Dominion Provisioners, Inc.

"I find myself in a position which I am not sure anyone can help me out of. However, even if I cannot get help, I think the public should be warned so that they will not find themselves in the same position.

Last fall, I saw an advertisement in the T.V. Times section of the Citizen. It stated in no uncertain terms that people concerned about the high cost of food could save money by purchasing their food through the Horn's Provisioners Plan. It made sense that their prices should be lower than those of a supermarket... bulk buying and selling, smaller sales force, no need for fancy surroundings, no merchandising of perishables etc.

A sales representative came to our house and explainted the plan to us with the aid of a food order sheet on which Toronto average supermarket prices were listed beside Horn's prices. In all cases, they were higher than Horn's prices. She explained that we would pay an additional fee with our first order, besides the cost of the food, and that the food order would represent 90% of our food purchases in the four months our food order would last us. The $175.00 fee was broken down as follows:

Customer Privilege Certificate	$95
Lifetime Freezer Guarantee	45
Food Spoilage Guarantee	35

The 10% was supposed to represented such food items as milk bread and items not included in the first order sheet. We very soon found that 10% was a very low estimate; that we were actually purchasing closer to 50% above and beyond the food in that first order.

The $175 seemed a little high for what was, in fact, a guarantee on the freezer and contents and our new found ability to buy cheaper food, but we felt it would be worth it if our food savings were what they were explained to be.

Before I made out my second order, I decided to make a sample food order and check prices in Ottawa and Arnprior. The enclosed sheets show my findings.

I wrote to Horn's, told them my findings, and asked that they refund the $175 which keeps us hooked to them. If we get out of their plan now, we forfeit the $175 and the guarantees; if we continue to buy from them we will lose even more money.

We looked over their guarantee to see if we had any legal recourse. It is worded in such a way that it really protects them, not us. It would be an almost impossible task to prove their prices higher than area prices in the manner they suggest. This guarantee was sent to us after we had signed the contract. Everything up to that point had been verbal.

As I have not received any reply from Horn's, we can probably kiss our $175 'goodbye'. However, I feel that it should be brought to the attention of the public as it is a plan designed to appeal to those who can least afford to lose the money."

Public Issues Lecture Series

(An 8 Week Study Sponsored by the Brantford Area Waffle) Wednesday Evenings at the Brantford YM-YWCA, 40 Queen Street.
March 28 – May 16
7:30 – 9:30 P.M.

March 28
The Energy Crisis!
Arctic Exploration and the MacKenzie Valley Corridor.
MEL WATKINS

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April 4
Equality for Working Women! (Panel)
MADELEINE PARENT
HILARY ARMSTRONG
BEVERLY NORRIS

***

April 11
"How Capitalism has Ruined Canadian Hockey!"
BRUCE KIDD

***

April 18
Who Gets Rich and Who Gets Poor in Canada: or what's happening to your income?
LEO JOHNSON

***

April 25
The Housing Crisis
PAUL CRAVEN

***

May 2
Canadian Workers and their Trade Unions
KENT ROWLEY
AL CAMPBELL

***

May 9
Iroquiois – Indian or Canadian?
LAWRENCE NANTICOKE
ELWOOD GREEN

***

May 18
Manufacturing in Ontario –
Will U.S. trade policies harm our jobs?
JAMES LAXER

***

Each evening there will be topic presentation, group discussion and coffee.
COST Regular $5.00 for series
Students & Unemployed $3.00 for series
$ .50 – individual session.
Make Cheques payable to "Brantford Area Waffle".
Send with your name & address to 6 Linden Avenue, Brantford, Ontario.
$1.00 – individual session.

On strike in Smiths Falls

Money, union security and safe working conditions are the main issues in the strike of 150 workers against Hershey Chocolate in Smiths Falls, Ont.

On strike since January 21, 1973, Local 461 of the Retail Wholesale and Department Store Union have been asking for a 70c an hour increase over 24 months and overtime pay for Saturday, Sunday and irregular shifts.

The union is also asking that unsafe machinery be replaced and that all production workers be included in the bargaining unit.

Latest company offer is 50c over two years. Negotiations broke off in mid-March.

The strike has significance for more people than just the Hershey workers. Smiths Falls is a town of 10,000 in the middle of Lanark county about mid-way between Ottawa and Kingston. Eastern Ontario has been losing both industrial jobs and farm population over the past 10 years. It took several years to organize Hershey. If the union can win the strike it will have demonstrated to other workers in the area that collective action against multinational corporations like Hershey does work.

The union's negotiating position is entirely reasonable. Hershey pays less than other chocolate plants in Ontario. Many used machines which moved into the plant when it opened in 1962 are still in operation. The company refuses to provide gloves, boots or safety mats. Workers face disfigurement as they carry 5 gallon copper kettles filled with chocolate at 285 F.

Hershey can afford to pay more.

Hershey Foods is one of the greats among U.S. corporations enjoying steady growth in sales and profits and government subsidies. Between 1962 and 1968 Hershey, Smiths Falls, paid half the normal property taxes on its property. This deal was made by the municipality and the Ontario government with the company in order to get Hershey to locate in Smiths Falls. Workers have seen their tax money financing their own domination while company profits flow to capitalists in the United States.

Pre-tax profit of International Hershey Foods was 42.4 million in 1971.

Members of the union strike committee realize they have a tough battle on their hands. They find townspeople somewhat confused by the strike and the events surrounding it. Many of them still have reservations about unions even though many hundreds of Smiths Falls workers are organized in several unions. The unorganized often do not accept the need to fight collectively for basic rights rather than as individuals. If there is to be any real hope for improving the conditions of Eastern Ontario residents, more and more people should follow the leadership of trade unions and such farmers' organizations as the National Farmers Union.

The workers feel that all working people in the community have something to gain from a favourable settlement for the local union. Higher wages at Hershey will ultimately result in higher wages for everyone. With the assurance of higher wages and better working conditions in Smiths Falls, young people will find it easier to stay in the community after leaving school.

Support by other unions for the strike has been uneven. Local 414 RWDSU has stopped further milk deliveries to the plant as have some National Farmers Union members in the area. But some train loads of chocolate from Hershey, Pa. have gone into the plant manned by CBRT members.

(This article was prepared by the eastern Ontario research committee of the Ottawa Waffle in conjunction with members of the union strike committee.)

Hazards in Arctic development

The Canadian Government was called on to bring a halt to any further activities around oil and gas exploration in the Canadian North until every aspect of the effects of such activities has been determined and debated across the country. So said guest speakers at the seminar on 'Arctic Development' held on March 17th by the St. Catharines and District Labour Council.

Speaking to an audience of 150 people made up of Wafflers, trade unionists, environmentalists and university students, a panel of experts spelled out their fears of the social, economic, environmental and political hazards attached to such developments as the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, a project designed to transport natural gas from Alaska and the Mackenzie Valley Delta to the United States.

Dr. Douglas Pimlott, Chairman of the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee asked that a sub-committee of the House of Commons be established to work with despatch to provide a forum for public debate through public hearings in a number of locations across Canada. "I feel strongly that the people must be let in on the north and that the government should allow this to be very widely debated", Dr. Pimlott said.

Tagak Curley, President of Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (Eskimo Brotherhood) and a native of the North West Territories, said that the native people to-day are not very happy with what is happening to their environment and their wildlife because of the proposed development. They would like to see the Canadians directly affected by the development given an opportunity to have meaningful participation in the decision making.

Discussing the question of who owns the land in the North, Kevin Aalto, Legal Representative for the Eskimo Brotherhood, suggested that a legislative settlement is the best solution to the problem of aboriginal rights and treaty claims. He went on to say that government paternalism and exploitation of the land by the oil men has led to the destruction of the way of life for many of our native peoples.

Another panel member during the morning session, James Woodford, environmentalist and author, warned that too much interference and activity in the north would drastically upset the very complex and delicate balance of nature. He said "we are in danger of repeating and adding to all the mistakes we have made in the south although these cannot be so easily remedied in the north."

Turning to the political and economic effects, members of the afternoon panel condemned the proposed Mackenzie Valley Pipeline as a project which would provide few, if any, returns for the people of Canada.

Prof. Mel Watkins, Economist and Waffler, said that "capital intensive projects such as the construction of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline lead to deindustrialization in other parts of the country as the capital required to finance such a project ($5 billion) drives up the price of the Canadian dollar on the Canadian exchanges which, in turn, makes it harder for Canadians to export and easier to import thereby destroying jobs in this country.

"If the capital is raised at home", he said, "this means that there is less capital available for manufacturing industries to expand. Also the building of a pipeline to facilitate the sale of our gas to the United States depletes energy sources for Canadian needs which tends to increase the cost of gas in the long run for Canadian manufacturing."

Sandford Osler, Pollution Probe activist, said that the lack of a National Energy Policy and government controls has encouraged the present trend of the oil and gas companies to 'get all you can and sell it', without regard for future Canadian needs and irrespective of the fact that it is not necessary to exploit resources in the north to satisfy Canadian consumption for many years. Osler pointed out that 95% of the gas from the Mackenzie Valley pipeline will be channelled to the United States.

Eric Kierans, Economist and former Liberal Cabinet Minister was present for the evening session held at Brock University in conjunction with the University Students Union. On the panel with him was James Laxer, Waffler and author or 'The Energy Foker Game!

During a lively presentation, Kierans spoke of the 'terminal nightmare' of the United States economy. "The U.S. economy is extremely weak", he said. "Among the larger countries of the world it is the weakest by far. It can no longer rely on itself but has to depend on resources from many other colonies of the world". Kierans, who quit the Liberal Cabinet over the government's economic policies, related his statements to the proposed development in the Artic and the virtually unrestricted access to Canadian resources by the major American oil companies.

James Laxer argued that the present energy crisis was not a crisis of supply but a crisis of distribution, the likely effects of which will be pressure on Canada from the U.S. to form a Continental Energy Deal. He went on to say that Canada needs a very different program for the 1970's which will stop the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline, bring about public ownership of existing resource industries, stop all exports of raw materials to the U.S. and adopt new pricing policies to discourage wasteful usage.

Chairing the Seminar were Ken Brisbois, President of the St. Catharines and District Labour Council and Gail Benjafield, of Pollution Probe (Niagara).

Reported by Hilary Armstrong

Looking forward to that swim in the Great Lakes? You may have a long wait.

President Nixon of the United States visited Canada in April 1972. While here Prime Minister Trudeau and he agreed to an accord to clean up the Great Lakes. You may remember that some persons wrote it off as a publicity gimmick, as Mr. Nixon could not commit the U.S. Congress. Well, that turns out not to be the problem. The Congress approved the ncessary appropriations. Mr. Nixon vetoed them, saying that they were extravagant. The Congress approved the appropriations again with the two-thirds vote necessary to overcome the Presidential veto. Mr. Nixon now says that he will not spend the funds anyway. You can lead a horse to the trough, but you can't make it drink anything except Canada Dry.

The Liberal government is of course somewhat embarassed by all this, and it has not raised the matter publicly. A tiny bit of concern did creep into a letter I received from the Minister of the Environment, Jack Davis, after having written to him that Mr. Nixon had made fools of the Canadian Government and the Canadian people. Mr. Davis wrote:

Insofar as American efforts in this direction are concerned, it certainly appears that President Nixon is not intending to spend as much on pollution cleanup in his country as originally anticipated. Since we are currently uncertain as to the proportion of his planned national expenditures that will be devoted to the Great Lakes area and as to the timing of the flow of funds between now and 1975, we are actively pressing Washington for details. We are assured that the pact with Canada will be honoured.

The quotation really needs no further comment, except to say that it appears that Ottawa seems too willing to believe Nixon's "assurances"

by Jeffery Patterson

The Waffle This Month

The past month has been a generally active one for Wafflers all across the province. The first edition of the Waffle News has been well received and this month we are expanding to eight pages. We are still wanting feedback from local groups and individual Wafflers on their opinions concerning the first issue, apart from general gratifying but undirective congratulations. So, please write us.

More local groups have now elected members to the editorial board. Outside the four Ottawa editors (Aline Blais, Elizabeth Buchan, Paul Larocque, John Smart) the board now consists of Sam Sharpe (Sarnia), Paul Craven (Metro East), Mike Finley (Kingston), Rick Plociennik (Brantford), Cres Pascucci (Metro North), Rick Slye (Metro West), John Turner (Hamilton). We're still waiting for the other groups to plug themselves in. It is absolutely essential that the remaining groups elect an editor as soon as possible because we are proceeding to hold regular, full-scale editorial board meetings (the last one on Feb. 25 in Toronto) to determine newspaper policy. Everyone should be involved in this.

Around the province things look like this:

LONDON: held its first educational on the "Political Economy of Canada" It was fairly successful and another educational." "The Canadian Trade Union Movement", is being planned for Mar. 22. On April 15 David Hana is presenting a paper to an educational on "Who Rules Canada?" The educational series will end on April 26 with a discussion of "A Socialist Strategy for an Independent Socialist Canada", led by Jim Laxer. A general meeting is planned before the end of the month to elect delegates to the provincial council meeting Waffle members have been quite active, also, on the Dare Strike Committee. Membership drives are continuing and membership is growing slowly but steadily.

BRANTFORD: has been very active in the past month. General membership meetings have been held every two weeks, with discussions centering around topics like women's liberation, the union movement, etc. Wafflers here have also started research work on local industries to supplement research already done by the Toronto research group on de-industrialization.

ST. CATHARINES: has not been holding regular membership meetings. It has devoted most of its resources and effort in the past month in assisting in the organization of the symposium being sponsored by the St. Catharines and District Labour Council on Arctic Development, held Mar. 17.

THUNDER BAY: has been holding general membership meetings on specific local issues. Mainly, Wafflers here have been attempting to organize resistance to the proposal made by the Chairman of the Land Drainage Committee of the Ontario Legislature concerning reservoirs and water diversion. Individual Wafflers are participating in the working out of positions by grainhandlers and lumber and sawmill workers who are both threatening strike action. The next general meeting will center around a discussion of local labour history, led by Jean Morrison.

WEST METRO: at its February educational, Wafflers here heard Stephen Hymer speak on the multi-national corporation. Hymer, who teaches at the New School of Social Research in New York, was a member of the Task Force that produced the Watkins Reports on foreign investment in Canada. The meeting was well attended and successful.

EAST METRO: has been quite busy in the past month. On Feb. 22 the Waffle hosted a concert of "Songs for Socialism and Independence", Geoffrey Ursell was the main singer and East Metro is considering putting out a record with some of his songs, for the broadest possible distribution. On Mar. 8 the Waffle held a public meeting on "Socialism and City Politics", hosting a panel of two aldermen and one defeated candidate. The discussion was lively and the audience was particularly concerned with the relation between city governments and organized labour. East Metro will meet on Mar. 20 to elect provincial council delegates.

NORTH METRO: will be discussing "Waffle and the Union Movement" at a general meeting on Mar. 20. Bob Laxer and Howard Kaplan will make a presentation. On Mar. 21 Wafflers are taking part in a Dare demonstration. A social evening will be held on Mar. 24. On Mar. 28 a public educational will be held on James Bay, with Boyce Richardson speaking. On April 10, Bob Laxer is speaking to a general membership meeting on "The Influence of American Ideology on Canadian Education." It's a busy time for Wafflers here.

SARNIA: is planning to get as many people as possible to attend the St. Catharines meeting on Mar. 17. No general membership meetings have been held since December but one is planned after the 17th.

HAMILTON: things are looking very good for the Waffle here. Membership has grown rapidly in the past month and a formal executive has been elected (Mar. 9). Hamilton Wafflers hope to have delegates at the provincial council meeting at the end of the month. A Waffle committee has been set up to participate in the Dare strike activity in the area and a labour study group has been created to study local labour issues.

OTTAWA: has had its usual month of steady Waffle activity. A general membership meeting (which was very well attended) was held on Feb. 11 Bela Egyed addressed the meeting on "Waffle Socialism". The Feb. 24 educational at which Andre Leclerc spoke was well received. Plans are proceeding rapidly to sponsor three public meetings in April on the resource and de-industrialization campaign. The Eastern Ontario Research group has been working closely with strikers at the Hershey plant in Smiths Falls. Membership recruiters are continuing to meeting regularly every two weeks and the drive is paying dividends in terms of new members. Ottawa Waffle experimented with a blitz distribution of the Waffle News which was relatively successful and it is planned to develop this activity in the future. Ottawa Wafflers have been particularly concerned with the direction that the resources and de-industrialization campaign has taken and, on Mar. 8, an emergency meeting of the general membership passed a number of resolutions, the main intent being that no further action on the campaign should be taken until the Mar. 31 council meeting. Ottawa Wafflers are preparing alternative proposals for the direction of the campaign to be presented at that meeting.

KINGSTON: Waffle men and women here have met recently with the Kingston Women's Group in an attempt at politicizing the women's movement in the city. Three Waffle public meetings are to be held in the future: on Mar. 23 John Hutchison will speak on "The Canadian Capitalist State", Stanley Ryerson will speak on "Quebec and English Canada" on Mar. 29 and on April 12 Jim Laxer will speak on "Canadian Resources and De-Industrialization". The meetings will be held in the International Center, Queen's University. No general membership meetings hav been held recently.

And that's it for the Ontario Waffle this month. If you have been missed or misrepresented, the editorial board, not being masochistically inclined, will not take total blame – ie. 'C'est votre problème aussi'. Please send us articles, local news, graphics, etc... Box 4291, Station E, Ottawa, Ont.

Edited by Paul Larocque.

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Waffle Council to Meet

Delegates to the Ontario Waffle Council will gather in Hamilton on the weekend of March 31st/April 1st, 1973.

High on the agenda will be discussions of proposals emerging from the Resources and Deindustrialization Campaign Committee, a sub-committee of the Provincial Executive, set in motion by a decision of Council last November. It is also hoped that the first steps to a Waffle strategy and policy on labour will emerge from the deliberations of Council, and local Waffle groups and Waffle Committees have been asked to prepare resolutions on these and any other items they wish Council to consider.

The Agenda Committee has thus far also been asked that time be allotted for Committee Reports, the Waffle Womens Group and certain housekeeping items.

The Hamilton Waffle group is currently preparing to host the two-day meeting and Wafflers will be advised of day care, billetting, location and travel fund arrangements when these are finalized.

The weekend's events will be open to Waffle members only and the Executive has urged that all groups be fully represented and that as many members as possible attempt to attend this important event.

Hilary Armstrong

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Vol. 1, No 3

April – June 1973

5200 march to support Dare Strikers

By PAUL CRAVEN

Kitchener, May 26th. More than five thousand workes and other supporters marched through the streets of kitchener today shoe their solidarity with striking workers at Dare Foods. Though the skies were grey and overcast, a spirit of militancy and excitement could be felt in the grounds of Victoria Park as busload after busload of unionists from all over the province arrived. The promise that had been made at the Kitchener rally of April 14 – that we would return, many thousands more, today – was fulfilled in the shape of more than two hundred Wafflers, unionists from dozens of Ontario locals, farmers, students, and other citizens.

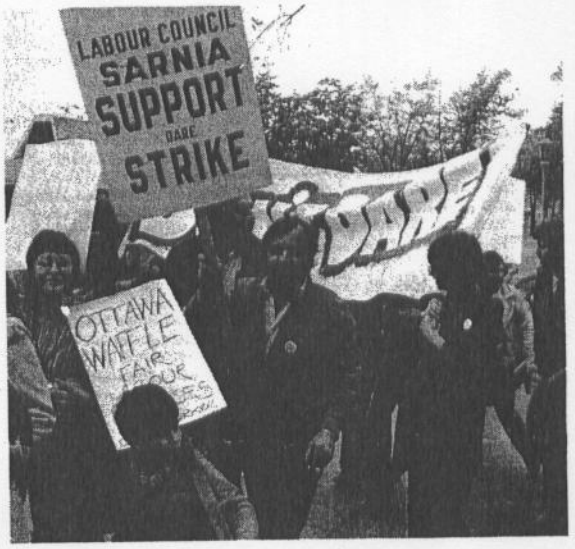
The three largest unions in the province – Autoworkers, Steelworkers and CUPE – were very strongly represented, as were the Teamsters, UE, SEIU, Brewery Workers, and many more. Supporters came in numbers from all over the province; from Ottawa, Toronto, London, Sarnia, Hamilton, Brantford, Guelph, Windsor, Peterborough, Kitchener-Waterloo itself, and other towns and cities. Most of those who came were aware that the strike was far from victory. We marched in protest against the tactics of the company and its professional strikebreakers, and against the repressive state which permits strikebreaking and backs it up with the use of court injunctions, the police, and almost unbelievably reactionary labour legislation. Indeed under provincial law the company can now apply to have the union local decertified, upon the vote of the scabs now in the plant.

mthe strike is a year old. It has

The strike is a year old. It has movement in this province to come to the aid of the Dare workers; but now that support is evident, and growing. It began as a rank-and-file movement, spreading out throughout the province. The middle level union leadership became involved, and, following the demonstration by 1200 unionists on the streets of Kitchener last month, the pressure became so great as to overcome the initial passivity of the unions' top leadership. The extent of involvement by the trade union movement demonstrated how wide-spread the growing militancy and solidarity among organized workers in this province has become.

It was clear in the response to speakers at the rally that the workers of Ontario are increasingly committed to challenging the state, with its courts and police. Participants greeted the call for action at the political as well as at the industrial level. This demonstration was perhaps the first in a long series of actions that the organized workers in Ontario can be expected to develop, as their militancy and the urgency of their political demands increases in the months and years to come.

Following the march and the speeches, we adjourned to a hall provided by the Dare strikers for refreshment of body and spirit. Old labour and socialist songs rang out as old acquaintances were renewed and new ones discovered. The mood of militancy that had characterized the day's events was not dissipated but increased by the time we left for home. The rally had sharpened our determination to carry on the fight against Dare through the nation-wide boycott, and to oppose strikebreaking and the provincial government's labour laws and practices. It had shown us conclusively, in addition, that the labour movement in Ontario has begun to march again.



BACKGROUND ON THE DARE STRIKE

344 members of local 173 United Brewery workers, in Kitchener Ontario have been on a legal strike against Dare Foods Ltd. since May 29, 1972. Some 75% of the striking union members are women.

This is now a battle for the survival of the union to ensure that employees get fair and just treatment from this anti-union employer.

Here is what Bev. Norris, one of the strikers has to say about the long fight.

Bev. Norris speaks to the Dare demonstration May 26 in Kitchener.

We went on strike on May 29th, 1972. Up until then we were bargaining for a new contract for about a month. We wanted a 40-hour work week, an 80c raise, and better working conditions. The company had even refused to clean our uniforms when they stunk so bad you couldn't go near them. They said it cost too much.

Dare finally offered us an increase of 55c for men and 45c for women over two years. The workers refused to accept this ridiculous offer. We went on strike.

We had our pickets out morning, noon and night. Everything was going fine. Nobody broke any laws and no one gave us any trouble. A couple of days later **Canadian Driver Pool** came in to haul Dare's cookies from the plant. Now we were not only fighting the company but also **Dirver Pool**, a firm of professional strikebreakers.

That's when the trouble started. The police came in and pushed our people out of the way while **Driver Pool's** trucks were crossing our legal picket line. Meanwhile, some strikebreakers were inside the plant taking pictures of our actions on the picket line for the company to use against us. It was the company that started it all by hiring **Driver Pool.**

Because we tried to block the scabs at the picket line we were handed an injunction by the Ontario Supreme Court. This did not restrict our pickets. It only meant that we could not harrass anyone who went into the plant or try to stop trucks from entering or leaving the plant. What's wrong with harrassing someone who's trying to take your job away?

After the injunction things were once again quiet on the picket lines. At least the people on the picket lines were quiet. The company was busy provoking us by taking pictures, sending us letters and phoning people to come back to work.

A few weeks later violence broke out again because some picketers crossed the lines to scab for the company. The union got served with another injunction – this time more restricting.

The injunction stated that only four pickets were allowed at each of the four entrances. We were not allowed to interfere in any way with anyone or anything that went in or out of the plant. This gave the company a better chance to hire more scabs because people were not afraid to cross the lines.

This made us more angry and more militant. We decided to get a boycott going and we got the O.F.L. to support the boycott. Then we started to picket stores which handled Dare cookies. We picketed as much as we could. We are still doing this.

Then we started a button campaign. The NDP offered to get buttons printed up for us – "Don't Dare". We also had bumper strikers made saying "I Don't Buy DARE COOKES". As you can see we are fighting back in the best way we can, although the laws don't let us do very much.

I don't know if you have heard about the court cases against our people or not. There were seven who were charged with contemps of court for things such as smiling at scabs, attempting to bump, and yelling. The company calls this intimidation. But the company takes pictures, send us threatening letters, makes phone calls saying this is your last chance to come back to work. Who is intimidating whom?

Six of our people were sentenced to jail. Lou Dautner, our International Representative – 60 days. Andrew Diamond, our Plant Chairman – 60 days. Paul Pugh, striker – 30 days. Wayne Zettler, striker – 10 days.

The charges against another striker, Pauline Breen, were dismissed. Three of these people are appealing their cases. If they go to jail we will fight even harder.

The bosses think we will weaken with our leaders gone. They are wrong! We won't give up no matter what happens. We will until the end.

Now that I have given you a brief history of the Dare strike, I hope you will realize the struggle we have on our hands. These anti-union firms such as Dare must be shown that they cannot abuse the right of workers. After 12 months on strike we are still boycotting Dare cookies and fighting in every way we can.

This Issue

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US energy crisis spills over Northern ecology threatened
What is Panarchtic ?
Aboriginal rights
Unauthorized RCMP history . p. 2

Brantford expressway fight enters sixth year

In the year 2006, the citizens of Brantford will at last be able to ride on their very own expressway! Of course, with the predicted energy crisis, they may not have very much fuel to use (perhaps they could be rationed to one ride per year) or the automobile may no longer be the most popular mode of transportation. But then they could always turn it into a public park (way) or possibly charge admission to people wishing to see one of the remnants of the "dinosaur age".

The story of how the people of Brantford were duped into believing enormous 100 piles of concrete and steel represent progress will certainly be worth selling in those future years.

The Citizens Committee on the Brantford Expressway is trying to bring some common sense to those who would complacently accept this future nightmare. That the city fathers would actually propose and plan such a monstrosity shows lack of foresight at the very least. At the worst it shows that developers will be profiting from the destruction of homes of working people and the elderly, and it shows white arrogance at its very worst in planning this road over land owned by the people of the Six Nations without any consultation)!

On May 3rd, 1973, the consultants hired by the city of Brantford (Damas and Smith) brought forth their long-awaited Transportation Study for the citizens at a public meeting. To no one's surprise, their study urged the rapid completion of the Brantford Expressway No. 2, which THEY had earlier designed. The only alternative to completing the Expressway was a "do-nothing" approach which, according to Mr. Smith, would result in chaos, noise and air pollution, and increased traffic congestion.

In fact, Mr. Smith neither presented nor had he seriously studied any real alternatives in terms of looking after Brantford's future transportation needs. Public transit systems were dismissed because they are too costly. (They create a deficit; expressways don't – they just cost money!) Mr. Smith admitted that the expressway was one of the terms of reference given to him for his study. So we are in the incredible situation of having "experts" tell us we **need** an expressway when in fact they have been told to incorporate it into their plans by our city authorities. Then when we argue against the expressway, the city "fathers" tell us the "experts" say we need it.

For three years now the Citizens Committee on the Brantford Expressway has been fighting to have a public hearing on the Brantford Expressway. The city both approved and announced the Expressway scheme at the same time in 1968 without any public involvement of the people of Brantford in its planning or in looking at alternatives. The project will bisect our city (already cut in half by a natural barrier – the Grand River). It will have limited access, dividing existing communities and neighbourhoods, pass within 38 feet of the front door of St. Joseph's Hospital, and provide all the noise and air pollution such facilities normally create. Then Brantford will have hit the big league.

The citizens of Brantford have been hampered (till recently) at all points from getting a public hearing. Mr. J.A. Kennedy former chairman of the Ontario Municipal Board, granted the Committee a full review in the fall of 1970. This was delayed and then the city and the province went to the Court of Appeals (spending $27,000 in the process) where Mr. Kennedy's ruling was overturned. The Citizens Committee then wrote to Premier William Davis many times asking to meet with him and with the Hon. Gordon Carton, Minister of Transportation and Communications to discuss the expressway.

Finally in January of this year they were given the opportunity of meeting with Mr. Carton and several weeks later he announced that public meetings would be held (they are presently scheduled for June 4, 5, & 6) under the chairmanship of Dr. Earl Berger (himself a consultant at times to the provincial government).

It has been almost next to impossible for the Citizens Committee to get information on the expressway from City Hall – information that legally should be available to all citizens. (A pro-expressway committee has recently been formed under the chairmanship of an alderman, which does not seem to be having any difficulty getting information!) The public meeting on May 3rd on the Transportation Study appeared designed to persuade public opinion before the hearings that the Expressway is a ncessity. The news media in Brantford have been pushing the pro-expressway position giving detailed coverage to the transportation study. They gave very little detail of the public meeting on the study where a large portion of the audience was opposed to the expressway and the people were very angry at the consultant's lack of positive alternatives to the expressway.

It is very interesting to study the route of this magnificent monstrosity – from a 100 acre land-bank assembly, through the heart of a working class community, over Indian land, to a large regional shopping plaza (to be completed in 1974). Obviously someone is going to profit handsomely from the Expressway.

Another interesting sideline is the manner in which the city is allowing property it has purchased for the route to deteriorate so badly that everyone else in the area is begging them to buy their house too thus lowering property values to allow them to buy out the poor for less. And where are these people moving to? – why to the suburbs now being developed in the northern part of the city! So the Citizens Committee must ask – does this gain for a few private developers and land spectaculors justify the economic cost for the majority of Brantford's citizens?

The premier of Ontario, William Davis, said, "We must place our reliance on means and methods other than those which will encourage and proliferate the use of the passenger car as the basic means of transportation". **(Brantford Expositor**, June 8, 1973). With the forecasts of a major energy crisis in the very near future, it is more important than ever to look at alternatives to the private automobile for transportation. The Citizens' Committee hopes that the upcoming public hearings will seriously look at alternatives and will begin a pattern of people-involvement in the planning for their future.

Elfrieda Neumann

A more realistic look at Canadian History **Book Review**

An Unauthorized History of the RCMP by lorne and Caroline Brown

Until the October 1970 crisis most Canadians thought that Canada was one of the politically most free and open societies in the world. Secret early hour arrests without warrants with troops patrolling the streets in peacetime might occur in eastern European countries but not in Canada.

The Unauthorized History shows that the Canadian government in 1970 had ample precedent for such actions and that the RCMP which had been set up as a paramilitary organization was well indoctrinated and oriented to carry out such actions.

The Northwest Mounted Police was formed in 1873. The Force was most useful in securing the prairie land from the Indians, keeping them on reserves, and making the west safe for land speculators and the CPR robber barons. From the railroad building period in the 1880's and for the next 50 years the force was noted for activity in smashing strikes and curbing trade union activities. The newly formed provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta retained the NWMP as provincial police.

During the World War I period the force was used for breaking strikes, running down anti-conscriptionists (3,895 arrested in 1917), and enforcing the War Measures Act. The force gained much government support from breaking the Winnipeg General strike in 1919 and its authorized strength increased after this.

As early as the 1920's it was becoming clear that the RCMP (and particularly its Intelligence Branch) was becoming a menace to political liberty. Section 98 of the Criminal Code (covering guilt by association) was described by Frank Scott as making "Canada one of the most repressive countries in the world". During the great depression of the 1930's the RCMP was most active in secretly deporting non-Canadian-born "agitators" and "communists". RCMP informers were hired for labour camps. The image of the RCMP was permanently tarnished in the 1930's and the response to this was improved public relations in the World War II period and following.

The **RCMP Quarterly** particularly in the 1930's specialized in publishing right wing and racist propaganda. The June 1937 issue reported a speech by a Col. Edgett to the Presbyterian Synod at Vancouver which included the time worn phrase, "Communism, part of a Jewish conspiracy..." One of the ironies of World War II was that the RCMP was at times forced to treat its old friends of the extreme right wing as enemies and the communists as friends.

The RCMP campaign against the left was renewed with great vigour in the late 1940's with the beginning of the cold war. The Gouzenko case of 1945 saw the arrest, detainment and questioning of 13 persons by authority of a secret Order-in-Council. The Korean War brought in a period of obsession with internal security. There occurred many thousands of secret security investigations by the RCMP which resulted in firings, demotions, and failures to gain promotion in the government service with the employees in the dark as to the reasons for their personal disasters.

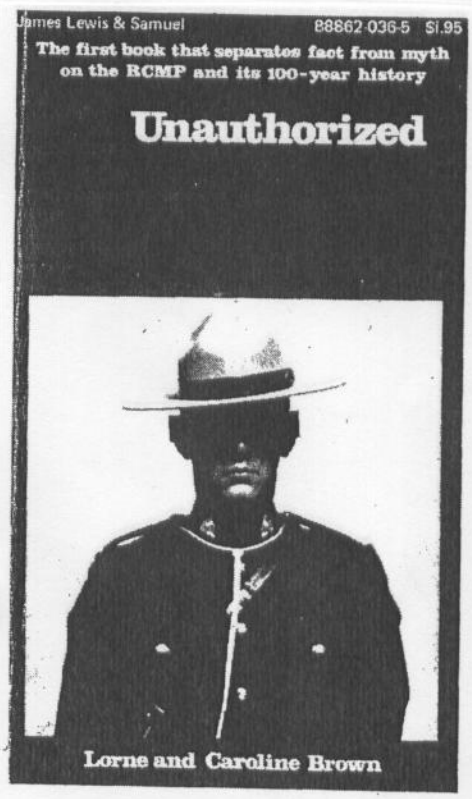
In the 1960's the RCMP turned its attention from hunting communists to the harrassment of the Peace Movement, U.S. draft dodgers and discontented farmers. RCMP spies were put on campuses and draft dodgers illegally deported. Apparently the RCMP continued its cooperation with extreme right wing groups notably the "Alert Service" and the "Canadian Intelligence Service".

Habitual racist acts against natives by the RCMP since its inception are noted. "... the instruments of racist oppression". The Fred Quilt case, where an Indian in a drunken stupor was repeatedly kicked by a constable and so severely injured that he died, is outlined in detail. The "Muskego Affair" where one of four teenage Indian boys was shot to death in a Saskatchewan roadblock makes most interesting but horrifying reading. These cases illustrate the racism of, and the cover-up tactics used by the RCMP.

The **Unauthorized History** points out that, since the administration of justice is the constitutional responsibility of the provinces, the provinces could maintain their own police, as Ontario and Quebec do instead of using the RCMP. The authors conclude"... all police forces are at best a necessary evil and... the RCMP may not even be necessary".

This history is a "Must" for left-wing Canadians. It should also be freely available on the library shelves of all secondary schools in Canada to round out the background material available to students.

Gavin McEwen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Unauthorized
Lorne and Caroline Brown

CORRECTION

The Editors of the Waffle News wish to make it clear that the trains crossing the picket lines outside the struck Hershey Chocolate plant in Smith Falls were not run by members of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen as reported in the last issue of the Waffle News.

A formal apology for this embarrassing misstatement has been sent to the CBRT and all local groups have been made aware of the error.

WAFFLE NEWS

ARCTIC SUPPLEMENT

SUPPLEMENT JUNE 1973

US ENERGY CRISIS SPILLS OVER

The authors of the recent Deutsch Report on energy for the Ontario Government talk about how the U.S. energy crisis "spills over" into Canada. They could'nt be more right, and the future promises lots more of the same.

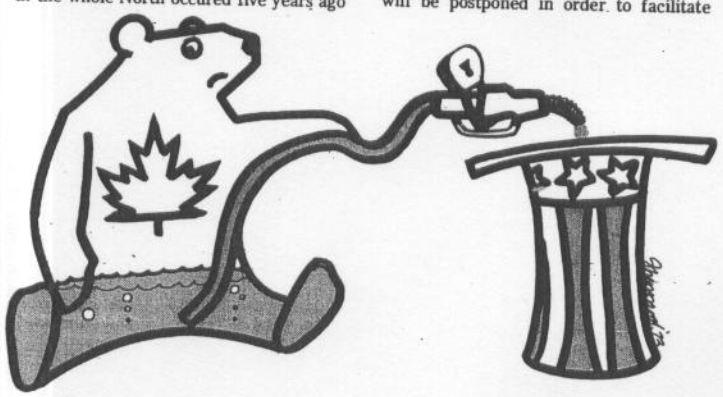
Since President Nixon relaxed American oil import quotas Canadian exports have jumped dramatically from under 400,000 barrels/day to 1,200,000 barrels/day. This represents nearly 60% of total Canadian oil production. That is presumably what the continental energy deal – which we have no intention of entering into according to the Trudeau government – is really all about. We also export about 50% of our natural gas. Despite this high out-flow of gas and oil to the United States, relative to Canadian supplies, the huge size of the American market is such that its dependence on Canadian imports – except from a "security" point of view – is minimal. Even the most optimistic forecasts do not presume that any more than 10% of the oil and gas consumed in the U.S. at any time will be Canadian.

Therefore, while playing a strategic but relatively minor role, Canada watches the life index of her oil and gas reserves diminish. The life index indicates how many years current recoverable reserves will last at the present rate of use. A National Energy Board (NEB) report published in December, 1972 stated that "production (of oil) from all sources in Canada will not be able to supply the potential export and domestic market demand after 1973".

In the face of this realization the response has been to accelerate the pressure to develop frontier areas, and the off shore reserves of the Atlantic Provinces, especially the Arctic. Consequently, we find in the same NEB report unrealistic predictions of large quantities of oil flowing from the Mackenzie Delta by 1980 when to date the only substantial discovery of oil in the whole North occured five years ago at Alaska's Prudhoe Bay!

Accompanying the increase in exports has been the decline of estimated reserves of oil and natural gas over the past three years. This admission is from a report of the Canadian Petroleum Association. In other words the rate of production has started to outstrip the rate of discovery.

The deficiency of the United States in oil and gas will probably lead them to turn their attention towards other fuels. It is likely that environmental safeguards will be postponed in order to facilitate the use of "dirtier" fuels such as coal. Over the short run then, Canadian coal deposits could very well be coveted.



Of even greater significance, over the long run, will be the development of nuclear and breeder reactors. The major fissionable fuel necessary for these processes is uranium. Outside the Communist bloc, Canada ranks second, behind the U.S., in uranium production. As oil and gas supplies become even more scaree the United States will want to import increasing quantities of Canadian uranium. Alternatively, it may finance massive hydro-electric developments to produce enriched uranium. McGill University economist Kari Levitt suspects that this may be what the James Bay project is really all about.

Where will it end? When the U.S. decides to harness solar energy, will we find that IT&T has a 99-year lease on the sun?

It's time for a change. The United States, with 6 percent of the world's population, cannot continue to consume one-third of the world's resources, and Canada should not help it to do so. The Science Council of Canada puts it this way: "Canadians as individuals, and their governments, institutions and industries, should begin the transition from a consumer society preoccupied with resource exploitation to a consomer society engaged in more constructive endeavours."

Clearly it is only in the setting of an independent socialist Canada that such issues can be resolved.

10 years research needed on ecology

If potential disaster is to be avoided, we need at least a decade of intensified ecological research before we begin "rational" exploitation of northern resources.

That is the view of leading environmental scientists who last year participated in the **Workshop on People Resources and the Environment North of 60**, a forum dealing with the impact of the current forced pace of northern development on the Arctic environment. And yet we have this eagerness of the federal government to build gas and oil pipelines and a highway down the Mackenzie Valley corridor.

What best illustrates the government's approach is the manner of the Prime Minister's April 72 announcement on the Mackenzie consultation whatsoever with the Department of the Environment. Scarcely any environmental impact studies had been made; work had not even been completed on surveying the right of way nor of determining the source of construction materials to be used. In fact, a 25 mile section of the road, common to the Dempster Highway and built the previous winter, melted away with the spring thaw. The shoddiness of the entire operation leaves little room for hope that pipeline construction would be approached in a responsible fashion.

In defending their environmental records, government and industry have pointed to the increased level of research activity over the last two years. Given the minimal ecological effort in the past decade, however, it is simply not possible now to assess the impact of development activity in time, expecially when vastly greater sums are being expended on oil and gas exploration. Even now there is only a minimal effort in such critical areas as the Beaufort Sea, where a wide variety of birds and mammals are found and where oil exploration is proceeding at an accelerated rate.

The principal defence offered by the government in pressing the Mackenzie route in opposition to an Alaska pipeline is the expectation of oil spills down the British Columbia coast. This concern, however, is scarcely justification for risking disaster in the Mackenzie corridor, where dangers are potentially, even greater. In fact, the government's position is motivated much more by a misguided policy for resource development than by environmental concerns.

Present knowledge of Arctic ecosystems is simply too limited to permit informed prediction as to the results of resource development.

The Arctic region is much more vulnerable than southern Canada to environmental damage.

In assessing potential impact of southern technology on the north, an especially acute problem is the susceptibility to land erosion. Any break in the surface layer of the permafrost, such as may result from seismic lines, vehicle trails, or even local heat from buildings, can spoil the surface vegetative insulation and lead to melting and slumping of the subsoil, with years of progressive erosion. **In one instance, a foot deep trench dug to protect Inuvik from a forest fire has progressed to a twelve foot deep, fifty foot-wide gully which continues to expand. This sort of destruction in turn can lead to a greatly increased silt load of major waterways; access roads, in parti-**

(continued on page 4)

suite à la page 4)

Movement For an Independent Socialist Canada

Waffle

ONTARIO

Playing for oil, gas and jobs

In the oil and gas business the hunt for more is called a "play". One of the really big plays is going on right now in the Canadian Arctic. Considerable gas has already been found in the Mackenzie Delta, enough when combined with Alaska gas from Prudhoe Bay to have created a frenzy of interest in a gas pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley Corridor to serve American markets. Since the American courts have so far blocked the building of the Trans-Alaskan Pipeline to remove Prudhoe Bay oil, the result has been to create the possibility of an oil pipeline as well down the Mackenzie Corridor.

Americans stand to benefit from these projects – but will Canadians? The answer is that direct benefits are small, while indirectly mechanisms of de-industrialization are set in motion which promise to put working people in a distinctly worse position.

Exploring for oil and gas and bringing it to well-head creates few jobs directly. Building pipelines creates some jobs, but on a one-shot basis. And if direct employment is small in general, it is even less for the native people, – usually in the low-paying jobs. For instance, during the construction of the Pointed Mountain Pipeline, only 30 native people were employed for a maximum of three months, while 320 workers were brought in from the South. In 1970, after the Federal government had invested $9 million in the Panarctic company, it had employed only 6 natives at $1.75 an hour.

Tax revenues, which might potentially be used to encourage industrialization, will be slight. Oil and gas companies don't pay corporate income taxes, except in theory, and royalties have been set particularly low in the North West Territories – at between 5% and 10%, compared to 16.7% in Alberta and 20-22% in Alaska – to encourage exploration for high cost gas and oil.

The first potential de-industrialization effect arises with respect to the financing of the pipeline. The proposed gas pipeline will partly be financed inside Canada, to that extent it will take capital away from manufacturing and limit potential jobs in that sector. It will partly be financed by importing capital and, therefore, will drive up the value of the Canadian dollar on the foreign exchanges. That, in turn, increases the cost of exports, decreases the cost of imports, and by both routes destroys jobs. To offset this latter effect, capital imports would have to be fully offset by importing pipe, etc. The pipeline consortium now appreciates this point and argues that this is what will be done. Of course, to the extent that goods are imported for the favourable effects on employment which the consortium constantly cites, are reduced.

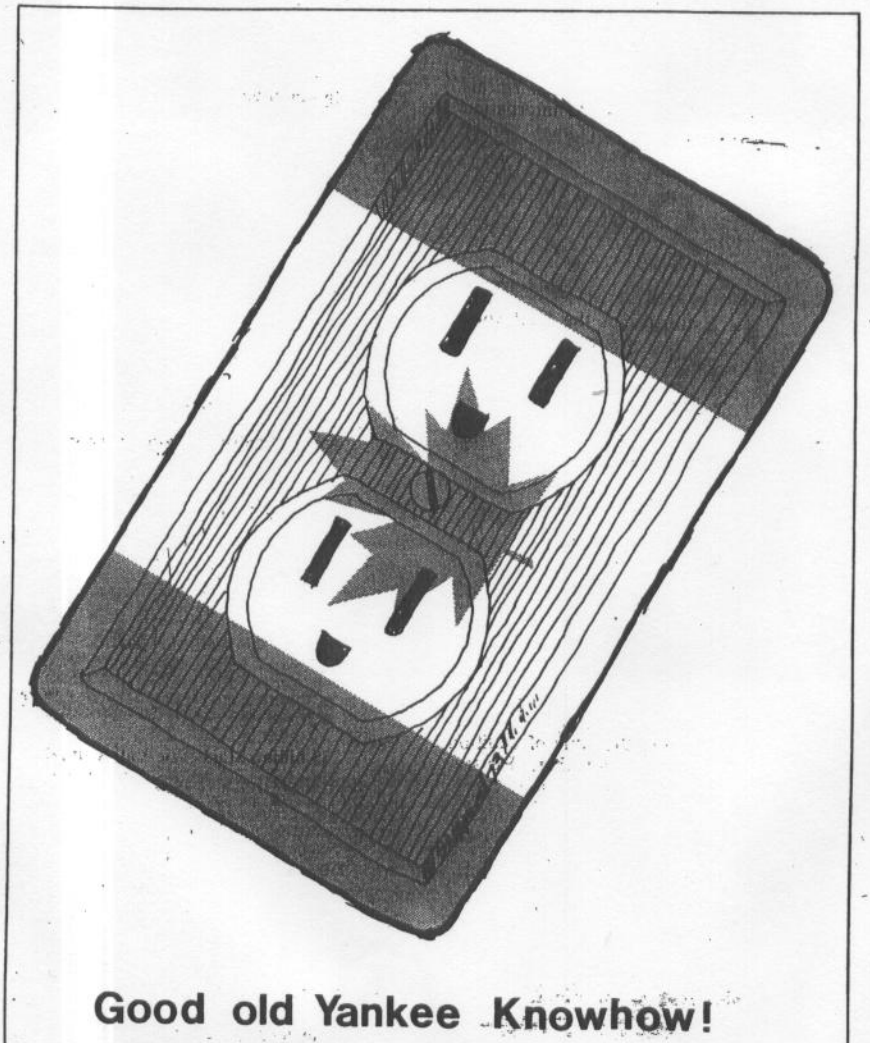
Now the ultimate raison d'être for all this development is the voracious U.S. appetite for oil and gas. The Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline is primarily intended to carry Prudhoe Bay gas but Mackenzie Delta gas can be piggybacked. At least 95% of the gas will initially go to the U.S. This alienation of Canadian resources for the U.S. market cannot have any other long-run effect than to raise energy costs in Canada. The American industrial base is strengthened, while Canada's industrial potential is eroded. This is a second, and potent, de-industrialization effect. (In Ontario even the Davis government is worried and they don't worry easily.)

There is another de-industrialization effect that grows out of the export of Canadian oil and gas to the U.S. The oil and gas embodies little Canadian labour, but its importation by the United States encourages the latter, given its serious trade problems, to insist that Canada buy back manufactured goods which embody relatively more labour. The result is then the destruction of jobs in Canada and, this third de-industrialization mechanism may be very much in evidence in Canada in the balance of this decade.

Finally, resource development in this country tends to become a mania, absorbing energies in a cumulative fashion, and reducing our capacity to consider alternatives. In the contemporary context, that means never getting around to working out an industrial strategy, and thereby not achieving our potential for industrial growth for more jobs and more diversified employment opportunities. Instead we have the Donald Macdonalds who think that the only way to create jobs is to give free rein to the multi-national corporations – indeed, to bribe them the better to rape us. This fourth de-industrialization effect, this imposition of blinders, is ultimately the most powerful of all.

It's clear that a lot of people – in fact, the great majority of Canadians – have little to gain and much to lose from resource projects like the Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline. For the working people of this country, what is at issue are their jobs and future livelihood.

Indeed, how long can Canada itself survive as a sovereign nation if we're really prepared to build a present-day version of the Panama Canal?



Good old Yankee Knowhow!

10 years

(continued from page 3)

cular, are known to contribute heavily to the silation process. As a result, gravel beds are filled in and spawning grounds disrupted.

Such scarring can be expected to occur on a large scale if the Mackenzie highway is allowed to proceed. Construction will require some 320 million cubic yards of gravel, extraction of which could have serious effects on the valley environment.

An oil pipeline poses special dangers. The oil is hot. Any melting of the permafrost could lead to sagging of the subsoil, and buckling of the line, with disastrous results. One senior Wildlife Official has stated that "one pipeline break could cover the Mackenzie Delta with a layer of black crude oil that could never be removed."

Even without cracks in the pipeline, major oil spills can be expected in northern operations, if the oil industry's sloppy record is any indication. Drilling off the Alaska coast has resulted in a spill every week or so; in Canadian territory, Panarctic, a supposedly government controlled operation, has managed two blowouts, one of which was not controlled for over a year. Fortunately they were gas wells – had they been oil, the results would have been devastating. Given the increasing pace of exploration in the Mackenzie Delta, Arctic Island, and Beaufort Sea, the potential for an uprecedented disaster is real.

It is for reasons such as these that an increasing number of Canadian environmentalists and conservationists are calling for a moratorium on Arctic development. The original people of the Arctic have survived because of their respect for their fragile environment. It is folly to risk irreparable ecological damage for quick-buck development.

PANARCTIC - You pay for it but isn't yours!

PANARCTIC OILS LTD. is "fed up with irresponsible environmentalists and their industry-slowing machinations".

The company's vice-president Bob Currie said so in a recent speech to the Vancouver Board of Trade. The board members cheered through such rationalizations as "Nature herself is a much more grievous polluter than man". They must have been likewise impressed with Currie's piercing analysis of the situation confronting native northerners: "Visit a Pond Inlet Eskimo... compare his cold, dark, hard life with the continuing threat of starvation... with the relatively secure life industrial life is bringing... Don't think for a minute he'd choose the old way." The point of the speech was obvious: Don't let "disturbance to the northern environment keep Canada and her neighbour from the needed resources of the Arctic." (Oilweek: Feb. 26, 1973)

WHAT IS PANARCTIC? It's a government-oil industry consortium, of which government holds 45% of the voting stock. It operates in the Arctic Islands, the most difficult and inaccessible site of oil and gas exploration in Canada.

However, Panarctic seems to have been formed (in 1967) mostly because the majority of companies with exploration permits did not have the financial strength to back up a significant program. Only three wells had been drilled on the islands before 1969 and the large international companies weren't interested because the Mackenzie Delta was more promising and not as remote from future markets. Yet the internationals would have taken up the unexplored and undeveloped lands pending exploration, especially since the medium-sized Canadian oil companies who led the bulk of permit-acreage on the Islands were ready to abandon their permits. With the pretense of moving against the internationals, the government submitted to pressure to "maintain a Canadian presence" in the northern oil and gas hunt. It met that pressure and also encouraged the pace of northern exploration in the Canadian government tradition of using resource exploitation to promote short-term "economic prosperity". Over the years this attitude toward economic development has become reflex.

HOW THE 'PUBLIC' PANARCTIC HELPED INDUSTRY ALONG: Panarctic entered the Arctic Islands through the backdoor by taking "farm-ins" on the permit areas of other small companies. By carrying out specified work requirements they earn a portion of the total acreage of a permit-usually about 70%.

By 1972 Panarctic controlled a potential area of 46 million acres. But it then proceeded to "farm out" 3.6 million net acres to international oil companies including: Sunoco, British Petroleum, Deminex, Gulf and Imperial. Farm-outs, they say, are designed to speed up exploration and bring forward the start of actual extraction.

Several gas discoveries have been made on the Arctic Islands since 1969. Estimates of the total volume of proved reserves range from 15 to 25 trillion cubic feet. No significant discovery of oil, the primary object of the hunt, has been made. Three discoveries have prompted Panarctic to set up a study group to prepare for Central Corridor gas pipelines to link up with the markets of the Northeastern United States. (see map)

WHO RUNS PANARCTIC? The government owns 45% of the stock, yes. However the government has only 3 out of 18 Panarctic directors. They could expand this representation to 45% only if they consider this "desirable". The government does have veto rights concerning the transfer of shares and the issue of additional stock. But for all that, Panarctic is run as a private business. Government involvement is minimal. The other major participants in Panarctic are those familiar community-concerned figures in Canadian history:

Canadian Pacific: 18%
Inco: 4¼%
Dome Group: 5%

The CPR is especially prominent, having four of the directors, and two of the four executive officers.

AND WHO WILL GAIN FROM PANARCTIC? Native northerners have demanded that all development halt until their land claims are settled. They know how few benefits they'll get from the extraction of oil from their land unless they can determine the terms of oil company activities in the north.

The people of southern Canada, quite simply, have no need for Arctic gas. Government and industry have repeatedly pointed out that its development is too expensive for the Canadian market. Only the American markets can afford it (and have a lifestyle to demand it).

EPILOGUE: As usual the profits will be made by the few companies involved and by American industry which will make extensive use of the gas. And though a company which is 45%-owned by the Canadian government is involved, the development resembles the average capitalist rip-off of an underdeveloped country. No additional "benefits" will trickle sizeable number of the natives of what is considered "our" country will be exploited and "developed" in typical imperialist style. And the government goes ahead in its "natural" role of aiding industry and expanding Canada's role as a resource base for American industry.

In the midst of a growing energy crisis, the need for state involvement to assure benefits for the people of Canada, and particularly the original peoples of the North, is clear. Panarctic could have been created so as to be part of the solution. Instead, it's part of the problem.

Resource Ripoffs . . . that we know about

the $5 billion Mackenzie Valley pipeline being pushed by Canadian Arctic Gas Study, a consortium consisting of the giant international oil companies TransCanada Pipelines, the CPR, the CNR and the Canada Development Corporation.

an oil pipeline down the Mackenzie Valley of comparable dollar magnitude — and solely to move oil from one part of the United States to another part of the United States

the multi-billion dollar James Bay project which involves flooding an area twice the size of England and destroying the economy of 6,000 native people — for the benefit of Consolidated Edison of New York

the Northern Manitoba water diversion plan which will destroy the mighty Churchill River, flood Southern Indian Lake and export surplus power not needed by Manitoba till 1990 to the U.S.

the high Arctic oil and gas play led by Panarctic, with the possibility of a pipeline from the eastern Arctic down either the western or eastern side of Hudson and James Bay — or both sides.

exploration offshore the Atlantic Provinces, plus east coast superports to transship, and maybe refine, Middle East crude for Northeastern United States.

GRAND TOTAL... of these extraordinary developments plus ordinary development of energy resources... variously estimated as 50 billion to 100 billion dollars for this decade.

CLIP AND SEND IN

I SUPPORT A MORATORIUM ON THE PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE & HIGHWAY UNTIL:

1/ There is a settlement of aboriginal rights & treaty claims.
2/ There is an exhaustive public examination of the environmental, social, economic & political consequences of proposed highway, pipeline(s) & their alternatives.
3/ There is a comprehensive Canadian energy & industrial policy.
4/ It is determined that there is a Canadian need for the gas.

signed _____
address _____
_____

Native rights - past and future

THE LIBERAL POSITION

The Minister of Northern Development, Jean Chrétien, states his willingness to discuss the settlement of treaties. He recognizes the fact that information and study are necessary to solve "Northern Problems". Yet he does not accept the need for a freeze on development until land rights are settled.

When does his or Trudeau's government see the native northerners' "problems" being solved? After the take-over by southerners, and the destruction are accepted as status quo? That implies no land settlement in any meaningful sense of that term, but instead a situation in which native people will have lost all linkages, not only to culture, but to a basic and viable means of support. The paternalistic treatment of native people has meant a saturation of outside ideas and interests which has robbed them of the basic right to survive as a people.

How to discuss development issues in a northland shich many still consider an uninhabited region at the disposal of whomever? What priority to place on several thousand native peoples who live and have lived in the north for so many centuries that they, at least, can't possibly remember having "discovered", "explored" and "taken over" a "new" world?

There is an anthropological context to northern development which has received no consideration. More immediate is a technological situation in which no one has more to lose than a people whose traditional livelihood, not to mention culture, is dependent on a land and species which mean nothing to the resource developers of the south.

The federal government has made it clear that **aboriginal rights** will no longer be recognized. In law, aboriginal rights are those property rights which recognize the original use and occupancy of lands by the native peoples of this country. (Property rights have always been recognized by English and Canadian law, the theory having been originated in the 17th century by Great Britain Spain and the Netherlands. It meant that though the "discovering nation" had rights to govern, the native peoples retained property rights to the discovered land. Rights which, by the way, could only be surrendered to the Crown, either by purchase or conquest.)

The theory of aboriginal rights in Canada is embodied in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which created a "reserved area" for Indian hunting ground where white settlement was proscribed. As pressures increased the Proclamation provided that these Indian lands could be sold, but only to the Crown. This led to treaties with the Indians, meaning that the government recognized these rights if only to gain access to the lands which had been accepted as native peoples territory. The government paid the Indians to forego and surrender rights to territories which they claimed through aboriginal rights.

However at the present time, a large number of native people (particularly the Metis and Eskimos) have not been treatied with. Indians living in the Mackenzie Valley are covered by Treaties 8 and 11, signed in 1899 and 1921. They guarantee that a nawtive family of five has rights to one square mile of land if they choose the reservation and 160 acres to each Indian living off the reserve. These treaties have never been honored.

Aboriginal rights are not created by treaties; rather, treaties are recognition that aboriginal rights do exist. So non-treaty status Indians, the Metis and the Inuit (Eskimos) still have valid claims based upon the law of aboriginal rights.

Apart from this, native peoples who have rights to much northern land were never consulted about northern development. Oil and gas exploration permits were granted over protest in areas such as Banks Island where the Inuit has crucial and delicate trappings rights granted to them some time back by the Northwest Territories Council.

A report by Peter Usher, ex-researcher with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, noted that Bankslanders were outraged when they discovered the government has granted exploratory permits on the land over which they held exclusive trapping rights.
held exclusive trapping rights. The report deplores the government's "consultation" process, which in fact: "informs people of pre-existing plans and suggests ways in Which they could adapt to them".

Government-chartered planes hop from settlement to settlement giving brief, fancy presentations on the advantages of a particular program (often giving only half the truth about it) and then flying off before the native people have a chance to discuss or react to the plan. These propaganda campaigns, under the guise of "consult with, inform and educate" are becoming more and more unacceptable to native people.

The government has played down the conflict with the Bankslanders and attributed the situation the problem only too clearly and that the Department discovered that "the existence of explanation, persuasion, and showing of color films by the Department".

As the National Indian Brotherhood has said: "the victims of mistakes will be the native people who depend on the land for life". And since they surely know the land best, they should be the first ones consulted in planning for northern development.

The Indian Brotherhool in the N.W. T. has called for a land freeze and a halt to Mackenzie Valley construction while the native peoples research treaties and formulate their claims.

Brotherhood president James Wah-Shee says "We have not surrendered the land yet – it is ours until we are compensated in land, cash, and mineral royalties".

Land study and treaty research will continue for the next year and a half, at which time the native people will take their case to the Federal Government and perhaps the Supreme Court.

It is ironic that a few years ago, before there was interest in exploiting the resource riches of the North, no one in the south really cared about the land. Aboriginal rights was an uncontroversial and even irrelevant issue to southerners. And the native peoples assumed, as they had always assumed, that the land was unquestionably theirs.

Are we instead going to see just another conquest of a people's native land by alien business interests – and aided and abetted by the state which is supposed to be representing the people?

JOIN THE STRUGGLE

The forces pushing for the Mackenzie Corridor development are huge. Jim Laxer calls Canadian Arctic Gas Study "the most powerful array of corporate and state power ever gathered on behalf of any project in this country's history". The Trudeau Government is more than ready to sell out.

But the project can be stopped... If enough public pressure is brought to bear on the government.

The pipeline cannot be started without prior approval for the export of gas to the U.S. by the National Energy Board and the federal cabinet. NEB hearings are now expected to start this fall and last for up to a year.

The Waffle is committed to:

– organizing public meetings across the province
– supporting the moratorium and working with other groups that support it
– demonstrating to Ontario workers that resource developments of this type promise to de-industrialize Ontario
– preparing a submission to the NEB
– presenting the socialist alternative

Join us in this Struggle

The Socialist Alternative

"This is an issue which affects all Canadians and to which the only solution is a socialist one – of national resource planning under public ownership, of full recognition of native aboriginal rights, of community control and work-place control of decision-making and of a healthy and clean environment to which all Canadians are entitled."

Resolution passed by Ontario Waffle Provincial Council, March 31/ April 1, 1973

The Arctic Supplement

This supplement was prepared by Pat Deutscher, Lawrence Fast, Linda McKeil, Joey Noble, Jane Pascucci, Ellie Prepas, Murray Randall, David Suarez, Tom Sheppard and Mel Watkins under the auspices of the Toronto Waffle Arctic Research Committee. For more information write 541 Arlington Ave #3, Toronto.

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no postage necessary

RT. HON. PIERRE TRUDEAU,
PRIME MINISTER of CANADA,
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS,
OTTAWA, ONTARIO,
CANADA.

May Day Manifestation 1973

May Day has traditionally meant for socialists and progressive trade unionists the world over a day of celebration and remembrance for the international solidarity of the working class. This year, the East Metro Waffle decided to host a May Day meeting and social, with the theme "The Right to Strike and the Survival of the Labour Movement." For workers in Ontario today, the right to strike is itself under attack from many fronts. The reactionary labour legislation of this province itself severely limits, and in many cases absolutely outlaws, the use of the strike weapon, while in the United States, the United Steelworkers, under the infamous leadership of I. W. Abel, have agreed to suspend strikes for a period of at least five years.

Two hundred trade unionists and Wafflers came to the Teamsters' Hall in Toronto this May Day to reaffirm their belief that the right to strike is the essential backbone of the organized labour movement and of socialist labour strategy. Al Campbell, SEIU organizer and London Waffler, led off with a speech which emphasized the history of May Day and the importance of the tradition which that day of solidarity symbolizes. Bev Norris, currently on strike at Dare Foods in Kitchener, spoke on that strike and its importance for the Ontario labour movement. The key issues in the Dare strike, she said, are the use of court injunctions and professional strikebreakers to render the strike weapon ineffective, and the threat of decertification and the death of that particular local. She made a strong appeal to trade unionists across the province to come to Kitchener on May 26, ten thousand strong, to demonstrate the solidarity of the Ontario labour movement in its support for the Dare strike. Kent Rowley of the Canadian Council of Unions gave a stirring speech based on his own long experience in the labour movement, calling for a socialist labour strategy to combat the efforts of the state to break strikes and smash the labor movement. Cec Taylor of Local 1005 of the Steelworkers in Hamilton voiced his disgust with the no-strike agreement accepted by the American branch of his union, and called on Canadian workers to retain the indispensable right to strike. Historian Leo Johnson called on those present at the meeting to pledge themselves to solidarity in the true tradition of May Day.

The international implications of the First of May were not forgotten. Spyros Draenos, a speaker from the Pan-Hellenic liberation movement, spoke movingly of the repression of the labour and socialist movements by the fascist military dictatorship in Greece. Angelo Principe, the President of ADI, reminded the gathering of the thousands of immigrant Italian workers in Toronto, and spoke of their role in building a socialist labour movement. The meeting voted unanimously to send a telegram to the CNTU, the FTQ and the CSN, the three Quebec labour organizations which formed the Common Front, pledging solidarity with their struggles and calling for the immediate release of their three leaders, who at that date were still in Quebec jails for disobeying an anti-labour injunction. The meeting closed with all present rising to sing together Solidarity Forever.

Then the bar was opened, and the more festive and celebrative part of the evening began. As enormous quantities of beer and sandwiches were consumed, small groupings of unionists and Wafflers formed and discussed in the spirit of the evening the issues that had been presented. Songs were sung, as some of those present displayed unsuspected talents in music. By the time the evening drew to a close, all present had committeed themselves to a reunion in Kitchener on May 26, to put into practice some of the feeling of solidarity that had been expressed. And we pledged ourselves, too, to a further reunion, next May Day – but next May Day we will be thousands strong.

Paul Craven

Crisis in rural canada - Part II

Resume of Part I

Rural Canada is in a state of crisis. Rapidly rising farm costs combined with relatively static farm prices are shutting down 20,000 farms every year. The Canadian farmer is too efficient. The multinational corporations which control the food market are unable to optimize their profits in a surplus economy. As a consequence agribusiness has attemped to switch consumer demand from low-profit natural foods to high-profit "gimmick" foods. Hit by this marketing strategy the farmers and the consumers are both so far unorganized and therefore unable to fight back.

Farmers have attemped to organize as far back as 1874 when the Grange was imported from the USA. The individualism and conservatism of many farmers as well as inter-organizational rivalries has made organizing difficult. Counter-structures such as co-operatives and credit unions have been successful in pressuring governments into establishing marketing boards but these have, in the long run, been hamstrung by governments favourable to agribusiness. Here Steve Paulsson of Ottawa continues the analysis of Canadian agriculture which he began last issue.

* * *

The Ontario Milk Act establishes the Ontario Milk Commission, a three-man cabinet-appointed body, and gives it control over the dairy industry, including the power to create marketing boards, delegate powers to them and withdraw those powers, and override any decision of a marketing board. Thus the OMMB (one of two marketing boards under the OMC) is a well-controlled puppet of a government not noted (to say the least) for its tough line on big business.

In practice, there is little need for the OMC to use its veto power let alone the more drastic means available to it, since a price ceiling on milk is imposed by the fact that a small group of distributors completely dominates the market in which processors must sell.

The leader of this group is Kraftco, the world's largest dairy firm. Kraftco is larger than such well-known industrial giants as Boeing, General Dynamics and Litton. This company with its subsidiaries processes about one quarter of Ontario's industrial milk, and accounts for three quarters of the distribution of milk products in the province, by obtaining additional supplies through contracts with smaller processors and through imports. The major processors also exert influence on milk prices through one-third membership on the Advisory Committees on Milk and Cheese, which the OMMB is required to consult before making decisions on price increases.

Of greater importance than price control in the Ontario system is the implementation of "orderly marketing" through the quota system. Under the quota system, producers and processors are licensed by the OMMB and hold quotas, based on their share of the market in 1965, which determine how much milk they are entitled to produce or process.

The two major weaknesses of the quota system as implemented by the OMMB are that quotas are transferrable, and thus themselves become marketable commodities, and that certain "specialty" items (such as Colby cheese) are quota-exempt. Thus the large processors and producers can increase their production by buying the quotas of smaller participants, who are thus in effect given a cash subsidy to shut down; in addition, large processors, who monopolize the production of specialty item , can circumvent quota restrictions, while smaller plants have to shut down for part of the year for lack of milk to process.

The effects of this quota policy have been dramatic: of 51,000 dairy farmers in 1965, 19,000 had left the industry by 1971; of 92 locally-owned independent and co-operative cheese plants, only 42 were left in 1971; and the milk surplus of 1965 has been turned into a shortage.

In the meantime, the control of the agribusiness multinationals has increased inexorably: 18 Ontario dairies purchased by Beatrice Foods, the third-largest (after Kraftco and Borden's) dairy processor in the U.S., and Kraftco building a new plant at Ingleside, Ont., with the help of a $250,000 interest-free forgiveable loan from the same government which controls the OMMB.

The National Farmers' Union and the Kraft Boycott

The National Farmers' Union was formed in 1969 by uniting the provincial farmers' unions; its objectives were to gain collective bargaining rights for farmers and to form alliances with labour and with consumers to exert pressure against corporate power at all levels. It has been distinguished from rival farm organizations such as the Canadian Federation of Agriculture by a policy of direct membership restricted to farmers and their families (the CFA's member organizations include the OMMB and the National Dairy Council, the processors' lobby), and by a consistently high level of militancy.

In its four years of existence, the NFU has grown into the largest direct-membership farmers' organization, and has organized some 10% of the nation's farmers.

The NFU has gained some major victories recently, winning a referendum among P.E.I. potato growers which opens the way to collective bargaining in that province, and obtaining endorsation of the principle of collective bargaining from the federal minister of Agriculture and three provincial governments.

In Ontario, the NFU has been consistently critical of the OMMB and has pressed for direct negotiation with processors over prices and conditions of sale. An agreement has already been reached with Carnation with respect to the importation of milk for processing, and talks have been held with Borden's. But the company which dominates the market, Kraftco, has remained intrasigent, refusing event to meet with NFU representatives.

In the summer of 1971, the NFU held a mass meeting and picketed Kraft's Ingleside plant to pressure for a price increase for industrial milk and protest against the Ontario governments aid to Kraftco while farmer-owned co-operative cheese plants were facing bankruptcy.

After milk-truck drivers refused to cross the NFU's picket lines despite threats from the OMMB's field man, the OMMB at first allowed milk to be diverted to local plants; later, the OMMB (presumably after pressure from the OMC and Kraftco) changed its mind and ordered the milk to be delivered to the giant Ault's plant (Ault's is a subsidiary of the Labatt's-Brascan conglomerate), meanwhile initiating action to obtain an injunction against the NFU.

This event was a clear demonstration of where the OMC-OMMB's sympathies lay, and in its wake the farmers involved in the Ingleside action resolved to press for collective bargaining rights. As a result of these events, the NFU initiated a boycott against Kraft products.

The Kraft Boycott

Although hampered by financial troubles and loss of membership through rural depopulation, the NFU has continued to pursue the boycott. Urban support groups now exist in many cities, and actions such as food give-aways and informational picketing of supermarkets have made many thousands of consumers aware of the boycott.

The Ottawa boycott committee estimates that it has now reached some 70% of the city's consumers through leaflets and direct contact; the response has been overwhelmingly favourabe.

The best indication that the boycott is having its effect is that Kraftco, which has long refused to debate the boycott or even acknowledge its existence, has now been moved to denounce it as "immoral, illegal, and un-Canadian", a paraphrase of Ronald Reagan's description of the California grape boycott. Some other signs of success: many university boycott committees have succeeded in removing Kraft products from their cafeterias and vending machines; Steinberg's has been induced to switch its house brand from Kraft to Black Diamond; money, manpower, and expressions of solidarity have been received from many labour unions (although the CLC and OFL bureaucracies steadfastly refuse to acknowledge the boycott); the YMCA has been persuaded to withdraw from a projected Kraft advertising campaign which would have urged consumers to save Kraft candy bags to send slum children to YMCA summer camps.

The Kraft boycott is at present the only action which attempts to build an urban-rural alliance against the agribusiness interests which exploit farmers, workers, and consumers alike.

In addition, the boycott is a vehicle for bringing to the attention of urban Canadians the dimensions of the rural crisis. Forty percent of Canada's Gross National Product is contributed by the agricultural sector and its ancillary industries.

The future of two million farm people and of countless working people in small towns and agricultural industries depends on the outcome of the agribusiness power play. Thus it is imperative for socialists to express solidarity with rural Canada by actively supporting actions like the Kraft boycott to the fullest possible extent, and to develop an understanding and analysis of the issues involved.

The rural crisis is not a secondary issue for Canada, but one which is central to the struggle for independence and socialism.

Second of two parts – Steve Paulsson

publications

New this month! Farming and manufacturing in eastern Ontario – 5,000 word study available for 50 cents each from Ottawa Waffle Box 4291 Station E Ottawa.

Programme for Ontario trade unionists – Waffle Labour Committee Ontario Federation of Labour Convention 1971 – 25 cents

Canadian Resources – a supplement prepared by Wafflers and published in Last Post – 10 cents

Lament for an Industry – (on the Canada-U.S. auto pact) – James Laxer Last Post 1971 – 10 cents

The Wafle Manifesto for an Independant Socialist Canada – 25 cents

The Waffle, Canadian Independence, socialism, and culture – two talks by John Smart and Robin Mathews given at Ottawa Waffle educationals December, 1972 – 50 cents

Papers on building the Waffle – Brantford workshop, December 1972 – 50 cents BOOKS – the Waffle maintains for sale a library of books on Canadian independence and socialism. Current titles in stock include: **The Energy Poker Game, Gordon to Watkins to You, Silent Surrender, Close the 49th Parallel, Etc.**

Bumper stickers

50 cents each 25 cents to Waffle groups in bulk – AVAILABLE FROM: Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto.

WAFFLE CALENDAR

JUNE - JULY 1973

"The nature of the state and socialist strategies for change"

June 23-24 Provincial Education at Glendon College
York University Toronto

1. The educational is open only to Waffle members and to individuals specifically invited by local Waffle groups. Registration cost will be $5.00.

2. Glendon College is at Lawrence and Bayvew in Toronto. Take Bayview south of the 401 to Lawrence and watch for signs.

3. To pre-register send $5.00 and your name and address to

Julia Bass
2 Sultan St. 201
Tel. 964-1416

You will receive an advance reading list, copies of any papers submitted before hand and information on billets and day care.

5. Waffle members are invited to submit papers before hand which they wish discussed at the seminar. You can submit a short precis of a longer paper instead if you wish.

June 26-27

"Public ownership of energy resources – Stop the Mackenzie Valley pipeline" Public rally and workshops sponsored by Toronto Waffle, Rally Tuesday June 26 – Speakers include Doris Jantzi, Jim Laxer, John Richards MLA, Mel Watkins.

Workshops Wed. June 27 on – native people's rights – ecology – public ownership of energy resources – Mackenzie Valley pipeline – James Bay project
Time and place (both nights)
7.30 p.m.
252 Bloor St. West Toronto
(St George subway stop)
For: information: 698-5163 or 630-2158

July 14-15

Waffle Council meeting (details to be announced by mai 1)

Contacts

BRANTFORD
Rick Plociennik
26 Wiltshire Drive
753-7823

HAMILTON
Paul Middleton
1001 Main St W. Apt. 1009
525-2255

KINGSTON
Ron & Penny Peterson
527 Johnson St. Apt. 1
542-6304

LONDON
Mary Campbell
22 Byron Ave
438-0435

OTTAWA
Aline Blais
610 Montréal Rd apt. 216
749-5605

ST. CATHARINES
Doug Campbell
9 Brookdale
227-3532

NORTH METRO
Cres Pascucci
245 Cranbrooke Ave
Toronto 320
483-0516

WEST METRO
Brian Smith
692 Indian Rd.
767-4164

EAST METRO
Corileen North
5 Dufresne, Apt. 1401
Don Mills
429-1008

THUNDER BAY
Harvey Linetsky
459 Tupper St.
344-9548

Resources and deindustrialization in Ottawa

The Ottawa Waffle sponsored a successful series of three public meetings on resources and de-industrialization during April. On April 3, 150 people heard Boyce Richardson on the James Bay project and viewed his film on the same subject "Job's Garden".

On April 17, Sam Raddi of inuvik and Dr. Peter Usher of Farrellton, Quebec spoke on the Mackenzie Valley project. Raddi, president of the Committee on Original People's Entitlement (a Mackenzie valley native people's organization) spoke on the environmental costs of the project. The attitudes of the federal government and the oil companies were examined critically by Dr. Usher, a former researcher with the federal government.

On April 24 the final meeting featured James Laxer of Toronto on de-industrialization. Marilyn Hindmarch of Ottawa gave the results of a local Waffle study on farming and manufacturing in eastern Ontario. Geoffrey Ursell of Winnipeg and Moose Jaw sang his songs of independence and socialism.

Attendance at the three meetings was 350 and 40 new people signed up on the Waffle mailing list.

John Smart

The Political Economy of Canada

The Toronto Waffle Course on the Political Economy of Canada was such a success that an edited version of the lectures is being published by McClelland and Stewart. It will be available in September and the response to advance publicity indicates that it will be a best-seller.

For twelve weeks this winter and spring the Waffle course was the event to attend on Sunday nights in Toronto.

Lectures covered such topics as: class divisions, the history of capital in Canada, trade unions, women, Quebec, the government and the state, resources, manufacturing in Ontario, socialist movements in Canada, contradictions and alternatives in Canada's future.

312 people signed up for the whole course and at least another 40 bought single tickets each night. Attendance on a single night never dropped below 250.

On a questionnaire distributed on the final night of the course, 27% of respondents rated the course as excellent and another 66% said it was good. 71% rated the discussion groups as interesting or stimulating.

The questionnaire provided many thoughtful comments on how to improve and after the content of future courses. Typical of comments from non-Wafflers were:

"Educational and thought provoking for a person beginning to question our value system"

"Provided background necessary to combat stereotypes of socialism"

"It helped clarify my feelings and attitudes in defining socialism"

"Enjoyed this very thought provoking series"

The best indication of audience reaction to the course is that 77% intend to come to future series of this type.

One third of respondents were Wafflers and it is estimated that over 50 new members joined as a direct result of exposure to the course.

The course was also a success financially, leaving the committee with a surplus. This money will be used to start up the next course which is already being planned for the fall of 1973.

Ralph Cook

WAFFLE ORGANIZER

Wanted by the Ontario Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada:

a full time provincial organizer for a trial period of three months beginning in July 1973. Salary $100 per week plus expenses.

To be directly responsible to the provincial executive and to work closely with the Organisation and Membership Committee in co-ordinating a drive for new memberships in the local groups that already exist (emphasis on those groups outside Toronto and Ottawa).

The organiser would work with individual Wafflers in centers where formal groups do not exist in order to bring new groups into existence and also, relate to the Resources and De-Industrialization Campaign in the building and sustaining of local groups and the growth of a membership.

Any member of the Waffle, no matter where he or she lives is eligible.
Applications should be sent in writing to:

The Secretariat,
Ontario Waffle,
P.O. Box 339,
Station E, Toronto, Ont.
Competition closes July 5, 1973.
Interviews will be held July 8 in Toronto.

ONTARIO WAFFLE
Box 339, Station 'E'
Toronto, Ontario

ONTARIO WAFFLE NEWS
Box 4291 Station 'E'
Ottawa, Ontario

☐ **I wish to apply for membership in the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. Minimum Fees ($5 for Income Earners and University Students; $1 for non-income earners) include subscription to Waffle News. Applications must be approved by the local Waffle group where one exists.**

☐ **I wish to subscribe to Waffle News at $3.00 for 12 issues.**

☐ **I wish to donate to the Ontario Waffle or to the Ontario Waffle News.**

Name. . . . . .

Address. . . . . **City**. . . . . .

Union or Professional Organization. . . . . .

Telephone. . . . . **Date**. . . . . **Amount $**. . . . .

(Make cheques payable to Ontario Waffle or Ontario Waffle News)

Ontario Waffle asks retaliation for U.S. tariff on Canadian tires

The Ontario Waffle, the left-wing faction that split from the New Democratic Party, urged in a weekend statement that Canada impose retaliatory tariffs in reply to a new United States duty on tires made in Nova Scotia.

The U.S. Treasury announced Friday that it will impose a 6.6 per cent tariff on products of the French-based Michelin Tires Manufacturing Co. of Canada, on the ground that the Nova Scotia plant is government-subsidized.

The Waffle contended that Canada should impose similar tariffs on any U.S. products entering this country from corporations subsidized by the U.S. government.

However, Trade Minister Alastair Gillespie said Friday night in Ottawa that—while he was "not happy" about the U.S. move—Canada has no immediate plans to retaliate.

The leftist Waffle movement was voted out of the New Democratic Party last June after refusing to disband. The movement urges an independent socialist Canada.

The 14-member executive said the U.S. action had wider implications than the Michelin case.

"The American government action makes clear that the second Nixon administration is continuing the efforts of the first to shut Canadian manufacturing exports out of the U.S thereby making worse an already into'erably high Canadian unemployment level," the press statement said.

The Waffle advocated an equivalent duty on all imports from U.S. firms using the Domestic International Sales Corporations (DISC) plan.

DISC legislation was passed by the U.S. Congress last year to give tax credits to U.S. companies that expand their exports rather than produce goods at branch plants abroad.

Ontario Labor Minister Fern Guindon said last month that the DISC measures were involved in the decision to end manufacturing at General Fireproofing Co. in Georgetown, a branch plant of an Ohio parent company.

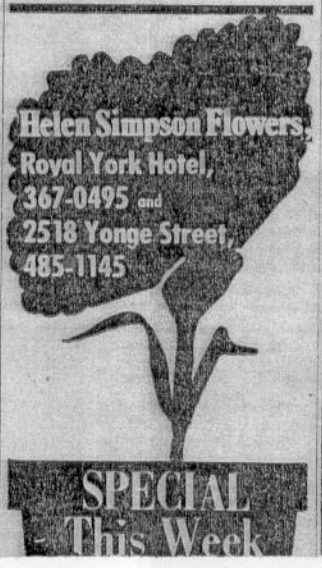
Trenton pigeons still winning

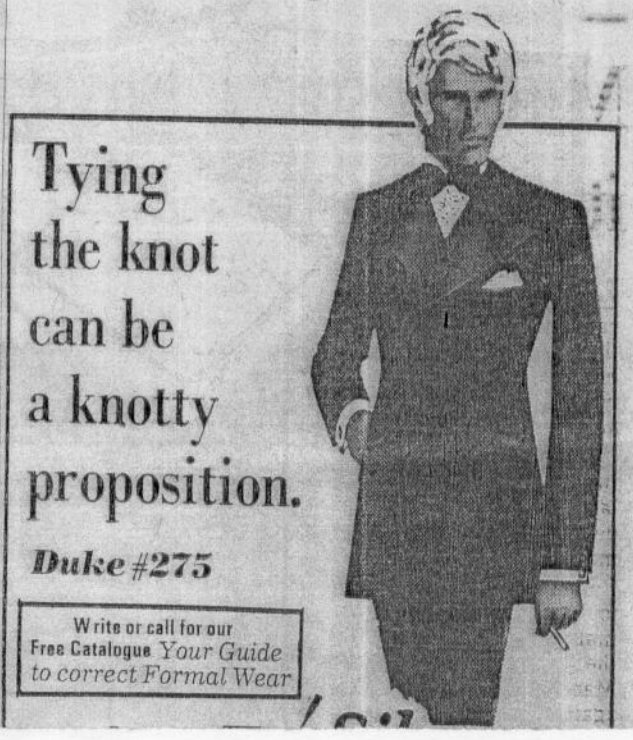
Special to The Star

TRENTON — Merchants here, many of whom recently have redecorated the fronts of their stores and erected bright canopies over the doors, have hired an engineering firm to get rid of pigeons that roost in alcoves in the upper floors of the century-old buildings.

The pigeons—which tended to roost mainly around the old post office and federal building—were left homeless when the building was demolished last year. They have been doing the sort of damage pigeons usually do to the new decor of the downtown shops.

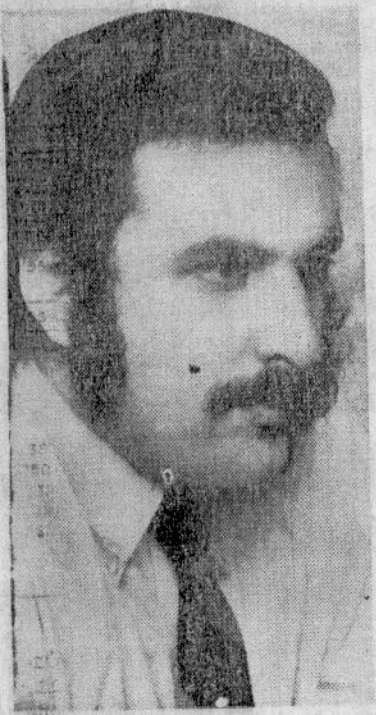
Lassing Associates, the engineering company, is still studying the problem. A spokesman says the only answer might be to board up the alcoves on the upper floors, forcing the pigeons to move again.





U.S. oil deal would mean higher costs to us: Professor

Feb 9/73



PROFESSOR JAMES LAXER
"Secret talks held in Washington"

To the editor of The Star:

One thing that has been overlooked in the present discussion about the "energy crisis" in the United States is the way in which current developments are following an American agenda for a continental energy deal that was clearly laid out almost three years ago.

Canadian Energy Minister Donald Macdonald has been saying that the government has no intention of pursuing a policy of pooling North American energy resources. He said that Canada's policy remains that of "reserving supplies against the present and future needs of Canada and then selling any surplus of either of the two commodities (oil or natural gas) into the American or any other markets that might be interested."

Macdonald's statement with respect to oil is untrue. The Canadian government has not adopted the same policy for oil as it has for natural gas. The policy of the Liberal government for the last three years has been to try to expand our oil market in the United States.

In May 1970, when he made his famous address to the Denver oilmen, former Energy Minister J. J. Greene was complaining because the Americans had placed a quota of 395,000 barrels a day on oil imports from Canada. Greene's bargaining posture was to say that the Americans would not get greater access to Canadian natural gas unless they opened up the oil market for us as well.

In other words the consistent policy of the Canadian government with respect to crude oil has been to blast its way into the American market, not to protect our reserves for Canadian use.

But there is now more alarming evidence that Macdonald is misleading the Canadian people when he claims not to be following a continental energy policy.

He admits that the Canadian government has held secret talks with Washington on the question of the security of oil supply in the eastern Canadian market.

Nothing compromises Canadian independence more than our agreeing to the extension of the warm American security blanket to cover our resources.

As energy minister, Macdonald has been clearing the way for an energy deal.

It is appalling to realize that through an energy deal the Americans get the profits from our oil as well as the oil itself. To add insult to injury, a continental oil policy results immediately in higher oil costs for Canadians and will force us to move to the Arctic for future supplies much more quickly, again increasing our oil costs.

JAMES LAXER
Assistant professor of political science
Atkinson College
York University

'Energy shortage is a smokescreen'

To the editor of The Star:

The reported energy shortage in the U.S. seems to be a smokescreen used by big oil companies to increase the price of their products.

JOHN E. LANE
Eagle Lake

(Toronto Star - ed.)

(65)

Economist urges 10-year halt to developing Arctic oil, gas

Mar 23/73

From our Ottawa bureau

OTTAWA — Toronto economist Melville Watkins yesterday urged a 10-year freeze on Arctic oil and gas development while the federal government conducts a complete review of national energy policy.

Watkins, a University of Toronto teacher and former leader of the disbanded Waffle movement within the federal New Democratic Party, told a Canadian Arctic Resources Committee seminar on federal petroleum leasing policy that Canada can afford to do without Arctic oil and gas while such a review takes place.

The Ottawa-based group of energy and environmental experts, businessmen and industrialists—was founded in 1971 to oversee and offer alternatives to government plans for northern resources development.

Watkins said the federal government should involve the Canadian public in a re-assessment of how Arctic energy resources should be developed. That would mean delaying construction of the proposed Mackenzie Valley gas pipeline—scheduled for completion in the late 1970s—and may end gas exports to the United States, he said.

Watkins, who wrote a report for former prime minister Lester Pearson urging tougher measures to curb foreign control of the economy, described existing practices—allowing almost unrestricted freedom for exploration companies to seek out Arctic and offshore oil and gas reserves—as "utterly rotten."

Three British Columbia academics also condemned existing policies for catering too much to big oil company needs and neglecting Canadian consumers and northern natives.

Andrew Thompson, a University of British Columbia law professor, said Ottawa was grossly undercharging oil companies for the right to explore and develop northern oil and gas reserves.

Milton Moore, an economics professor from the same university, said a combination of high exports and low royalty charges for oil and gas produced profits for American-owned oil companies while Canadians received little benefit.

Michael Crommelin, another UBC economist, said the government must charge more for exploration permits, extraction leases and royalties because the taxation system is "not adequate for the job."

Committee chairman Douglas Pimlott said the main purpose of the meeting was to demonstrate that it is "absolutely vital" for the federal government to hold public hearings before present regulations are changed.

MEL WATKINS
Involve the public

Indians' claims have moral basis, MPs told

(65)

June 27/73 (Toronto Star-ed)

Nationalize energy, Laxer says

James Laxer, founder of the Ontario Waffle movement, last night called for public ownership of Canada's oil and gas industries to combat the energy crisis.

Laxer took part in a public conference on the energy crisis sponsored by the Toronto Waffle movement at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Bloor St. W.

Other speakers were John Richards, New Democratic member of the Saskatchewan Legislative Assembly, Gerald Godin, editor of the left-wing weekly newspaper Quebec Presse, Howard Kaplan, Ontario Hydro worker, and researcher Doris Jantz. Waffle co-founder Mel Watkins was scheduled to speak but was unable to due to illness.

The Waffle movement is the term adopted by a radical element of the NDP a couple of years ago when they accused the party of "waffling" on such policies as nationalization of private industries.

Laxer told about 350 people attending the conference that public ownership would ensure use of Canadian resources for domestic development instead of export, and reverse the energy crisis by ending present waste of energy.

Public ownership would also develop a rigorous concern for protection of the environment, safeguard the rights of native peoples, decentralize manufacturing to establish a more balanced economy and produce a socialist policy, he said.

Laxer, who is professor of political science at York University, said that current energy policies tie Canada so closely to the United States that any attempt to move toward socialism on Canada's part would be difficult.

Kaplan, a member of the Labor Council of Metro Toronto, also supported public ownership to control prices and ensure that Canadian resources are used for Canadian priorities.

"The government continues to sell badly needed energy" to the United States, he said. "Squandering energy eventually results in lost jobs for Canadians."

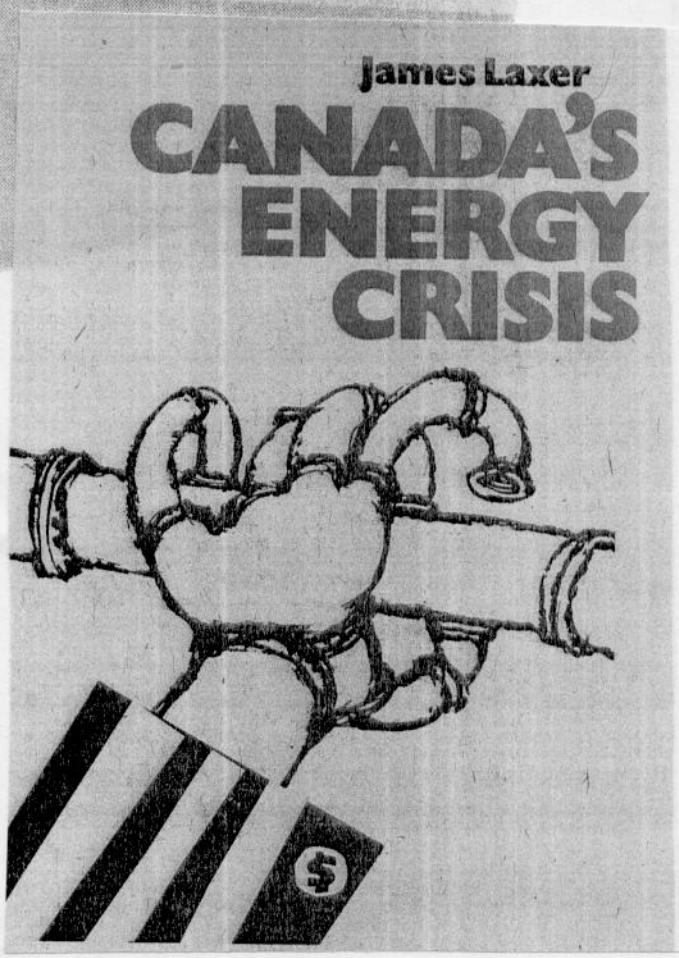
Godin called the James Bay power project a "birthday cake," something cooked up as part of the mania of mayors and provincial premiers to leave monuments behind them.

He said American money is financing the project, will produce energy for American-owned mines and industries in Canada and is being engineered by an American firm which stands to gain a good deal of money from it.

JAMES LAXER
Cites energy crisis

Strong quake strikes off Japanese coast

BOULDER, Colo. (AP) — A strong earthquake measuring 6.6 on the open-ended Richter scale struck within 100 miles of Hokkaido, Japan, last night, a spokesman at the National Earthquake Information Centre here repo



A NEW PARTY

A PROVEN CANDIDATE

LAXER

A PARTY TO END U.S. CONTROL OF CANADA

The Waffle is Canada's newest political party.

It is running candidates for the first time in the July 8th federal election.

The Waffle is new to electoral politics, but it is already five years old.

It was born in 1969 within the NDP. Its name comes from the Waffle Manifesto for an Independent Socialist Canada that was the centre of debate at the federal convention of the NDP in 1969.

Waffle founders, Mel Watkins, Jim Laxer and other members of the group believed that a new political initiative was vitally needed if Canada was to survive as an independent nation.

They were concerned that Canada was becoming little more than a resource base and consumer market for American corporations.

The Waffle Manifesto spelled out an economic and political programme to end the control of Canada by American corporations.

Since 1969 the Waffle has grown steadily. In 1971 Waffle candidate Jim Laxer ran a strong second to David Lewis for the leadership of the federal NDP.

In 1972 the Waffle and the NDP came to a parting of the ways. The NDP leadership, under the influence of the leaders of the Canadian sections of American unions, would not tolerate the Waffle's call for an independent socialist Canada and for an independent Canadian labour movement.

The Waffle became an independent political organization committed to organizing Canadian working people against the power of the corporations and for Canadian independence.

For five years the Waffle has walked with striking workers on picket lines in defence of their living standards. It has organized rallies against the sell-out of our energy resources and in defence of jobs in the auto industry.

At its provincial convention in December 1973 the Waffle decided to move towards the formation of a new party.

Three Wafflers are running in this federal election in Ontario. Jim Laxer is your candidate in York West.

MEET JIM LAXER

Jim Laxer, a recognized authority on the energy crisis, is author of the new best selling book, **Canada's Energy Crisis**, which has received highly favourable reviews across the country.

This book, which exposes the price gouging policies of the oil companies, is his second on the subject. His first, **The Energy Poker Game**, published in 1970, warned of the coming energy crisis.

Jim Laxer, 32, is well known to Canadians. In 1969 he co-authored the Waffle Manifesto, For An Independent Socialist Canada. The Manifesto called for a socialist programme to achieve Canadian independence, to take control of the Canadian economy away from the American corporations and place it in the hands of Canadian working people.

In April 1971, at the age of 29, Laxer ran second to David Lewis for the federal leadership of the NDP. In the field of five candidates Laxer lasted four ballots, winning 612 delegates or 38 per cent of the total.

In 1972 Jim Laxer, as a member of the Waffle, left the NDP and is now on the provincial executive of the Ontario Waffle.

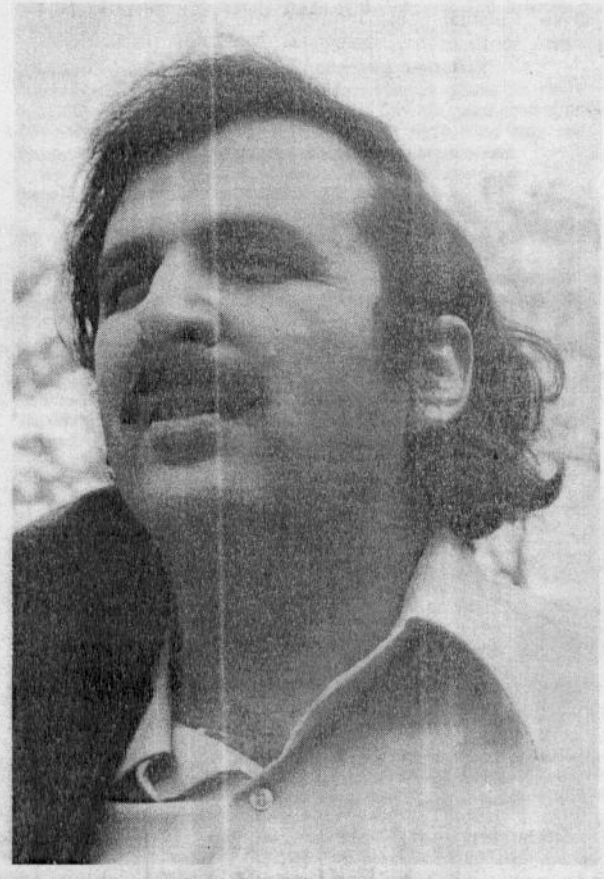
In the past three years he has spoken out on the issue of American control of the Canadian economy at dozens of public meetings in nearly every province in the country.

On such TV programmes as the Pierre Berton Show, Take 30, W5, Weekend, Under Attack and Canada AM, as well as on several dozen open line radio shows, Laxer has become a familiar voice in Canadian political debate.

He has been active in journalism as well as politics. He was national president of Canadian University Press and presented weekly radio and TV satires on national politics under the pseudonym "Talleyrand".

The winner of two Canada Council awards, Laxer is now an assistant professor of political science at Atkinson College, York University.

He is a lifelong resident of Toronto and is married with a three year old son.



CANADA SHOULD BELONG TO ITS PEOPLE

A New Resource and Industrial Strategy

The recent gas price increase was a pure gift to the oil companies. The price increase was the handiwork of the Liberal-NDP alliance in government. Just over a month ago, the federal government approved an increase in the price of a barrel of western Canadian crude oil from $4.00 to $6.50.

The price increase has nothing to do with increased production costs. The oil we are talking about is oil discovered up until now under previously existing cost conditions. Two years ago the cost of producing a barrel of Canadian oil was estimated at $1.24.

Canada needs a new energy policy.

It must be based on developing Canada's energy resources in response to Canadian needs and not for export.

It must be a self-sufficiency approach that ensures Canadians of energy at the lowest possible cost.

The crucial element in the new strategy must be complete public ownership of the nation's energy resource industries.

Small shareholders should be compensated in full but the foreign oil companies who own most of the shares in the Canadian oil and gas industry should receive no further compensation.

The oil resources over which they preside are already publicly owned. The largest single source of investment capital for the oil companies comes from the tax write-offs they enjoy. For the past fifteen years the public, through foregone taxes, has been putting up twice as much development capital as have the foreign owners of the oil companies. And while the foreign owners have been taking a dividend out of Canada larger than the new provision of foreign capital, the public has not received a nickel for its huge investment.

The fact is that the Canadian people have already paid full compensation to the oil companies and their foreign owners do not deserve a penny more.

Oil and natural gas exports to the United States should be phased out.

An all Canadian oil pipe line from western Canada to Montreal must be started immediately.

The Mackenzie Valley Gas Pipeline should not be built because it would double the cost of gas and because Arctic gas is not yet needed. The Alberta tar sands should be developed only gradually. Canadian supplies are adequate for many years for Canadian needs with no undertakings to export.

There must be a new industrial policy to go with this energy policy. Phasing out of exports of energy resources would create the opportunity to expand our manufacturing industries.

With a new industrial strategy we could reduce our imports of manufactured goods. This would provide a new domestic market for Canadian manufacturing industries.

It would mean creating an independent machinery industry to provide Canada with the equipment needed for a full industrial economy.

There should be a fully Canadian auto industry, geared to producing for the Canadian market.

Such an industrial strategy would allow for the fullest development of the nation's skilled manpower and provide a host of new jobs for Canadians.

Fighting Inflation

Prices have risen ten percent in the past year—and there is no end in sight.

Prices have risen more than wages. The purchasing power of the take home pay of the great majority of Canadians has fallen.

Food costs have risen 20 percent. The cost of a house has escalated out of the reach of 90 percent of younger people.

But the profits of corporations have soared. Profits increased by 40 percent in 1973 and in 1974 they are breaking all previous records.

The working people of Canada must demand immediate price controls on food, clothing and shelter, without wage controls.

They must insist on their right to strike to stop the continuing erosion of their incomes. Contracts must be re-opened and new contracts must be limited to one year.

There must be a federally-owned public housing industry that eliminates the exorbitant profits of the speculators and developers and provides homes for purchase and rent at cost.

The real incomes of the least well-to-do Canadians must be protected by raising the minimum wage to $4.00 an hour and the old-age pension to $400 a month.

Creating Real Equality for Women

Women suffer double exploitation—at work and at home.

More and more women are working because they have to keep up their family's standard of living. One quarter of all women who work are the sole support of their families.

But women are excluded from certain areas of work and end up concentrated in the service sector. They constitute a separate work force, and are systematically made unequal through lower wages, discriminatory hiring and promotion, "special" job categories and the use of part time and temporary status. When they do the same work as men they get lower pay and fewer benefits.

A new industrial strategy will create more jobs for both men and women. Women must be paid the same as men and they must have the same access to better paying jobs.

Women must be able to expand their role in society outside the home without being doubly burdened. This can only be done by providing high quality child care facilities through the extension of the school system. Maternity leave with full pay and benefits should also be available for a period up to three months.

Towards Canadian Independence and Socialism

Canada cannot become an independent country unless the vast majority of people, the working people of Canada, take control of the nation's future. Canada's businessmen have been only too happy to sell our country's future to American corporations.

We cannot rely on them to win Canadian independence. The people of Canada can only rely on themselves.

No political party can achieve this goal by simply putting it forward in an election campaign. Only when Canadians, together, struggle for this goal can it be achieved.

And only a socialist programme, designed to replace private foreign ownership with Canadian public ownership can assure control by the people of Canada.

The Ontario Waffle participates in this election campaign to organize support for Canadian independence, for jobs and higher living standards.

You can help by direct participation in the Waffle election campaign and by convincing your fellow Canadians that there is an urgent need to end the U.S. domination of Canada.

Published by the Toronto Waffle for
Jim Laxer Election Campaign
1814 Jane St., Toronto
245-1533

A VOTE FOR

JIM LAXER

JULY 8 IS

A VOTE FOR

CANADIAN

INDEPENDENCE

LAXER

Waffle uses new book to test public interest

By DAVID QUINTNER
Star staff writer

Competing United States interests that find Canada a fertile field for undermining the economy and independence of the country is a theme of a book published today in Toronto.

The book—(Canada) Ltd., subtitled The Political Economy of Dependency—is based on 12 lectures given earlier this year by James Laxer and Mel Watkins, founders of the New Democratic Party splinter Waffle group, and their political sympathizers.

Laxer told The Star last night the book might well become a guide to the direction the Waffle movement will take as it considers whether to become a national politcial party.

"The enormous interest shown by the public in the lectures indicated to us that Canadians have become more aware than ever before of what is going on, of how much interest there is in what the Waffle stands for," he said.

JAMES LAXER
"We had a solid base"

MEL WATKINS
"Forms fail us"

BIG TURNOUT

"We had 300 or more turning up for the lectures (on political economics) . . . What other political party can match that?"

Laxer, 31, and a lecturer in economics at York University, said that since its ouster from the provincial NDP, the Ontario Waffle movement had been working to recruit new members, and "concentrating on the labor movement in southwestern Ontario."

He said the group is considering whether to run as a political party in the 1975 provincial election, a move he favors personally.

He said there always has been a trend toward a "rent-your-country" movement in Canada. The growing strength of the Waffle, with its easily indentifiable left-wing policies aimed at halting further erosion of Canadas independence, makes him optimistic that the drift toward colonialism under "the Americans empire" can be stopped. "We need as solid a base as we can establish now," he said.

The strategy needed to check the economic dependence of Canada on the United States is a feature of the book published by McClelland and Stewart Ltd.

The book focuses on the contemporary and historical aspects of Canada's exploitation by foreign business.

Its closing chapters deal with contending U.S. interests that are battling Canada's natural resources. A research project by a group of Wafflers conducted last year in Toronto found greater employment growth among Canadian-owned firms in Ontario than among American-owned organizations. It showed that some key industrial areas of the province, especially in the Niagara region, have experienced complete stagnation during the years studied.

Laxer cited the movement by American firms from high-wage unionized areas to low-wage areas.

Laxer refers to the case of the Canadian auto industry, which he says fell under U.S. domination in 1907 when R. S. McLaughlin of Oshawa signed a contract with the Buick Motor Co. for the importation of U.S.-made engines—and 11 years later sold out to General Motors.

Laxer notes that in the 1920s, Canada—"a nation of under 10 million—out produced all the great nations of Europe, including the United Kingdom, France and Germany . . . (but) in a period of three decades the Canadian auto industry had plummeted in world terms.

". . . Since 1929 the Canadian industry had experienced a clear decline in the number of jobs it provided relative to the growth of the work force."

SAVED INDUSTRY

The Canada-U.S. auto pact of 1965, he said, saved the Canadian auto industry from grave trouble, but "the condition of the Canadian auto industry in 1964 is striking proof, for those who need it, that foreign ownership does not bring efficiency and competitiveness.

"After all, the Canadian auto industry was 100 per cent foreign-owned, and yet it was so uncompetitive that it couldn't maintain control of its own domestic market, let alone export its products."

One of the book's strongest attacks on his former NDP allies comes from Waffle co-founder Mel Watkins, 39, an economics professor at the University of Toronto.

TRADITION OF STRUGGLE

Citing the "history of dissent and protest of the Canadian people," he said there is "a tradition of struggle in this country. . . .

"But its presently dominant institutional forms—the trade union movement under American control, and the New Democratic Party—increasingly fail us."

Watkins said the "opposition to American domination is picking up momenum. An opinion poll . . . showed that far more Canadians are in favor of nationalizing the energy resource industry than are in favor of leaving it in the hands of the U.S.-based corporations."

Ontario leader says national Waffle viable

Special to The Star

MOOSE JAW, Sask. — Saskatchewan Waffle's decision to split from the New Democratic Party has been hailed by Mel Watkins, Ontario Waffle leader, as the key to Waffle organization on a national basis.

Watkins, who attended the three-day Waffle conference in Moose Jaw as an observer said now that the only two organized Waffle groups in the country are divorced from the NDP, there is a clear road ahead for development of "a viable socialist formation functioning nationally and provincially across Canada."

The Ontario Waffle left the NDP in June, 1972, after a confrontation with Stephen Lewis, Ontario party leader and the party council. It now claims about 800 members.

The Saskatchewan Waffle voted almost unanimously on Saturday to withdraw from the NDP because, said one delegate, Premier Allan Blakeney has "gone bad" and the Saskatchewan NDP is no longer socialist.

474

come to the... Waffle Labour Caucus

sunday	monday	tuesday
oct. 31	nov. 1	nov. 2
9:30 pm	9 pm	8 pm
Quebec Room	Alberta Room	Alberta Room

visit the **waffle hospitality suite**

open throughout the convention

ask at the desk for the room number

19-146

(October 1973)

U.S. firms use us as warehouse, economist says

To the editor of The Star:

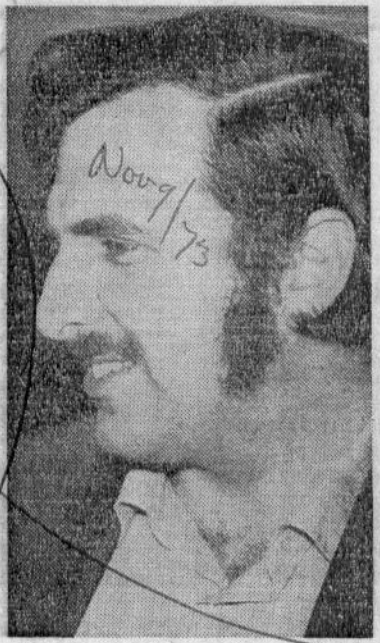
In his column "Waffle theory based on faulty analysis" (Oct. 25) Anthony Westell demonstrates that he failed to grasp the meaning of "de-industrialization."

In spite of the warning that our concept of de-industrialization in Canada does not refer to this general phenomena of a decline in the percentage of those working in manufacturing, Westell proceeds to show that reduction in the manufacturing work force is universal and will bedevil Canada for the next decade. In this he was fighting his way through an open door.

What he failed to note was our statement that "de-industrialization refers to the general distorting effects of U.S. ownership of Canadian manufacturing, in particular, U.S. attempts to enhance American employment at home at the expense of Canada." Westell never comes to grips with this fact.

In our study of all manufacturing firms in Ontario employing over 100 workers we found a very significant difference in the employment behavior of Canadian as compared to American-owned firms.

Between 1966 and 1972 Canadian-owned firms (with 100 workers or over) increased their employment by 21.1 per cent, while American firms (with 100 workers or over) only increased employment by 8.1 per cent. These figures must be seen in the light of an overall increase in the Ontario work force of some 27 per cent.



JAMES LAXER
"De-industralization of Canada"

This happened at the same time as the percentage of the Canadian market gained by American firms actually increased. This bears out the contention that "during the present period of inter-imperialist rivalry among the great capitalist nations, American ownership of Canadian manufacturing leads to de-industrialization of Canada — the quantitative and qualitative undermining of this country's manufacturing sector."

Our Waffle study of Ontario is fully supported by the U.S. Senate study on multi-national corporations which revealed that since 1966 U.S. multi-national corporations have been cutting back industrial employment in Canada, while at the same time they are taking a larger share of the Canadian market.

Canada is valued by Americans chiefly as a resource base — oil, natural gas, nickel, iron ore and asbestos. Because of stiff world competition, the U.S. simply does not need an industrial Canada as its northern neighbor.

The trend of the U.S. corporations is to reduce their Canadian branches to assembly and warehouse operations. This is the essence of de-industrialization.

Canadians may disagree with the Waffle's solution to this grave prospect for Canada — which is to start with calls for public ownership of all resource industries, particularly oil and gas. But there is no denying that de-industrialization as a dangerous trend has been upon us since 1966.

JIM LAXER
DORIS JANTZI
Toronto

SOCIALISM
INDEPENDENCE

ONTARIO WAFFLE NEWS

A movement is growing . . . for an independent socialist Canada

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November 1973

SASKATCHEWAN WAFFLE LEAVES NDP

The Saskatchewan Waffle in conference at Moose Jaw on October 6-8 voted to leave the NDP and "work to establish a socialist party in Saskatchewan." The actual vote in favour of the withdrawal resolution was 189 to 3 with 7 abstentions.

The decision came after seven months of debate inside the Saskatchewan Waffle and the provincial NDP. In contrast to the Waffle's experience in Ontario the NDP leadership in Saskatchewan publically asked the Waffle to stay on in the party. On September 27 two weeks before the Moose Jaw conference the Saskatchewan NDP executive formally asked the Waffle not to leave. Premier Blakeney took the same position though his public comments were less clear than those of the executive.

Major reason for the delegates' decision was the conviction that the NDP was not and could not become a socialist party. One document adopted in principle by the conference on "Social Trends in Saskatchewan" reads, "...socialists must set out in a new direction... this direction will require the launching of a new political formation in Saskatchewan and eventually throughout Canada."

The paper goes on to say that a strategy for any new socialist formation "must begin with the socialist proposition that the primary social force in the struggle for an independent socialist Canada is the working class."

The full text of the Saskatchewan resolution appears on this page. The conference also voted to begin work immediately on building the ideology, strategy, and organization necessary for the new socialist party. Internal educationals and discussion along with public actions will be the main focus of the Saskatchewan Waffle's winter activities.

The Charlatan

"Extremely important decision"

- Watkins

Mel Watkins, chairperson of the Ontario Waffle executive said after the Saskatchewan convention that "it was an extremely important decision for Wafflers in all parts of the country including Ontario." Watkins along with Hilary Armstrong and Jim Sacoumin was sent to the Saskatchewan meeting by the Ontario executive.

Watkins made two presentations to the convention. Before the actual vote Watkins argued that in his opinion the Ontario Waffle had been able to be a completely viable organization outside the NDP.

After the vote in favour of leaving the NDP representations were heard from provincial Waffle groups outside Saskatchewan. Watkins told the Moose Jaw meeting that after listening to the weekend's debates he found important similarities between the Saskatchewan and Ontario experiences to date. Wafflers in both provinces had found it impossible to work as socialists inside the NDP. That they had come to that decision by different routes proved that something "more fundamental than tactics" was involved. Also, Watkins said, both Waffles are in essentially the same position despite subtle differences.

"Both groups are in a transitional phase. In Saskatchewan you have said by convention decision that you are in a transitional phase to a new party. In Ontario over the past year individual Wafflers have been talking more and more about the need for a new party. The Saskatchewan decision should put that subject more and more on the agenda of the Ontario Waffle."

Watkins also found that both Waffles were working from the same ideological commitment and perspective.

"You have a concrete analysis of the political economy of Saskatchewan and a real class analysis. Ontario was not really in that position when we left the NDP but we have through internal educationals etc. got to the same position. That is, we are working on the political economy of Ontario and an explicit class analysis. We have also elaborated our anti-imperialist analysis."

Watkins thought there was now a great potential and impetus for a national Waffle movement. A priority in this regard was a national campaign on the energy issue. "Energy is not just another issue with us but is the guts of our politics."

Such a campaign at this time, Watkins said, would lead to the creation of new Waffle groups in other provinces.

"New formations and parties at the provincial level argue for the same at the national level. Independence and socialism need a national movement to resolve the contradiction."

At its meeting on October 14 the Ontario Waffle executive decided to make the question of forming a party in Ontario a major item of discussion at the first annual convention of the Ontario Waffle to be held December 8-9 in Toronto.

WAFFLE MOOSE JAW CONFERENCE WITHDRAWAL RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the record and performance of the three Western NDP provincial governments, as well as the NDP Federal Caucus, clearly demonstrates that the NDP has adopted the classical social democratic stance of saving capitalism from itself, while leaving untouched the basic exploitative and elitist character of the capitalist social structure;

AND WHEREAS the NDP in Sask., as well as elsewhere, has rooted out all vestiges of socialist program and organizational structure, rendering the work of socialists within the NDP increasingly futile;

AND WHEREAS the NDP has clearly repudiated the fundamental character of socialism by rejecting all policies and programs that would establish the social ownership and control of the means of production and by rejecting all policies and programs that would destroy elitism and build truly democratic political and economic structures;

AND WHEREAS we, as socialists, have an historical obligation to go directly to the people in the struggle for socialism and a deeper democracy;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Saskatchewan Waffle Movement, the movement for an independent and socialist Canada, withdraw from the New Democratic Party and work to establish a socialist party in Saskatchewan.

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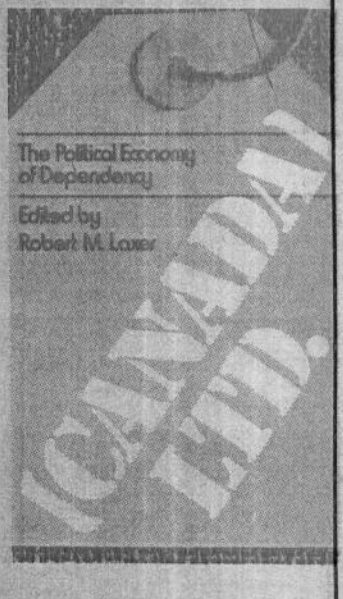


BACKGROUND TO THE SASKATCHEWAN DECISION

The October Conference in Moose Jaw's Union Centre tackled head on the differences between the NDP's anaemic and failing "social democracy" and the healthy pulsating socialism the Waffle can offer in a Canadian context. The near unanimous support given to the Waffle withdrawal resolution indicates that work will continue now unhampered, on the politics of food, analyses of corporate energy policies, Canadian unions, and other important issues.

On august 20 the press release announcing the October Conference served notice that apart from considering separation, the Waffle would take as its target the multiple failures of the NDP. Not only is the NDP's reluctance to act on the question of Canadian independence and its tendency to offer none but liberal reforms of capitalism called into account, but its pretensions are exposed.

The active supporters of a separate Waffle are working from the obvious fact that only a solid working class basis will make a sound socialist movement for Canadian independence possible.

The press release charges that "Not only has the NDP failed to be a socialist party, it has also failed to be a traditional "labour" party. Their strategy has aimed at being another 'middle class' party, competing for the votes which normally go to the Liberal and Conservative parties... (A) new socialist movement must clearly stand on the side of those on wages and salaries, whcih in Canada represents 83% of the labour force" John Warnock has informed the Ontario Waffle News (telephone conservations 30/9/73 and 2/10/73) that in Saskatchewan very few union locals have any sort of affiliation with, or support for the NDP. "At any recent convention." Mr. Warnock states, "there have never been more than 50 labour delegates from unions, labour councils, or any other labour orientes bodies." The Pulp and Paper workers of Canada in B.C. and all C.C.U. locals in the west have sloughed off NDP affiliation by formal decision.

Even before the Waffle withdrawal supporters had been pulling away sharply from the NDP. The Saskatchewan NDP has lost over half its membership in the past year and is now faced with approaching bankruptcy of funds, nearly marching in degree the bankruptcy of its socialist principles. Clearly, if there were an election called today the NDP would be turned out even with disillusionment with the old line parties running high.

The press release suggests that the withdrawal is seen less a break with the NDP to start out afresh with a new political programme, but more a referral to past expectations for socialism in this country with the hope of becoming what the NDP was unable evolve into.

The original CCF defined itselitself as a political movement, with a broad programme of socialist education, It gave open support for PEOPLE's struggles outside the political arena, particularly the farm movement and trade unions. Today, the NDP is just another political machine, gearing up its supporters for elections, and providing the patronage payoff after gaining office.

Internally, the NDP is no longer democratic in the true sense of the term. It is all too evident that the party is tightly controlled by a small selfperpetuating elite. The recent federal convention in Vancouver was only another example of manipulation by this oligarphy.

The Saskatchewan Waffle had a discussion document to work with in "A Socialist Alternative for Canada", a personal statement by John W. Warnock, author of Partner to Behemoth.

The first four chapters are historical, tracing socialism through its origins to its progress in Canada up to the merger in 1961 forming the NDP. "The présent trade union membership, reflecting the ideology of business unionism imported from the United States via their 'international' unions, rejects socialism. Thus, the NDP today is even further removed from socialism than the CCF in 1956." (p. 11)

The Saskatchewan CCF on behalf of its farmer and worker constituents had made a promise for "the social ownership of all resources and public utilities." What a stark contrast this is to David Lewis Oct. 12, 1972 statement. "I'm not denying INCO's right to make a profit. I want them to pay their fair share of running the country." In Warnock's opinion this is the only point that Lewis' Louder Voices made: "The NDP even fails to demand that the company pay for pollution control"

Social democracy can often result in the pernicious forms of liberal complicity with corporate interests. Swedish social democracy is taken as the prime example; its regime permits 15 families to run the country through corporate ownership. Yet this is the political system which "our" NDP in the best of its positive moods would like to emulate.

In concluding the middle portion of his discussion booklet John Warnock focuses on the NDP's willingness to sustain compromise by viewing its election strategy. The error was admitted by Clifford Scotton, Federal Secretary of the NDP: "We do not get the votes of the poor. They vote Liberal. We are a middle class party, and we aimed our campaign at them."

Such an admission allows Warnock to move to his major theme — the need for a Canadian, working class based, democratically functioning, socialist "We need," he argues, "a strong movement, organizing all Canadian working class people into ten or twelve major unions... Without such a movement there will be little success in the movement for an independent and socialist Canada."

It would seem that the new separate Waffle does not shirl planning long term goals.

A new socialist movement in Canada must become the political institution through which the working people attempt to make changes in the present system which cannot be accomplished through trade union activity. Yet the political success of any socialist party will be directly related to the development of a strong trade union movement... (I)n Canada this means: a) the organization of the 2/3 of the Canadian Labour force who are not members of trade unions; b) the consolidation of the present 160 different trade unions into ten or twelve major unions; and c) the development of a Canadian trade union movement which is completely independent of U.S. controls and influence.

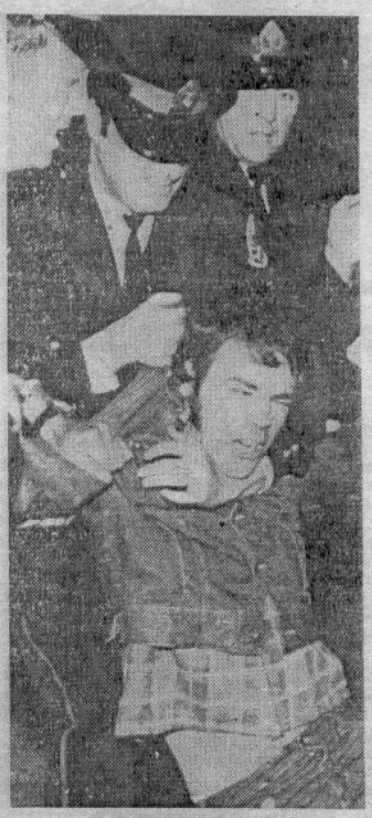
It will interesting to see how a strategy based on these objectives will be articulated into immediate pratical measures at the convention to take place early in the new year; it is a fact, though that support for such a trade union and worker organization policy is strong in the western Waffle.

Canadian Union Fights Militant Battle

On August 21st a significant strike began in Toronto. Significant not because it has been won the Canadian Textile And Chemical Union affiliated with the Confederation of Canadian Unions (CCU) is still carrying on — but because the issues raised are pertinent to the entire labour movement: the right to unionize is at stake; police are harassing strikers: sweatshops are using immigrant workers; a management rights clause is used to deny elementary union rights, and civil rights are ignored.

The Union is fighting for a first contract and accuses the company of trying to "bribe the workers with a 65 cent increase". The increase was settled in negotiations but the company gave an ultimatum to the Union to accept word for word the Management Rights Clause. Madeleine Parent, secretary-treasurer of the Union said it is the worst such clause she has seen in 30 years of negotiating. It denies the elementary right to grieve against arbitrary or unfair treatment. The Company also insists on a Seniority Clause which would negate all rights of senior workers.

Wages are presently from $2.00 to $2.95 an hour on a 42½ hour week. The 120 employees are largely immigrants from Italy, Greece, Portugal, Latin America and the Caribbean. The Company has locations outside of Toronto, in Montreal, Vancouver and Cleveland Ohio, USA.



In its militant battle the Union has had to contend with the Toronto Metro Police. They have harassed the strikers so obviously that two Toronto aldermen called for a discussion in Metro Council of their role.

To date there have been 47 arrests on the picket line (on average nearly one a day). Three men, York University teacher. Mark Golden and Student Raymond Van Ecnoogh and a striker Ron Morsut were arrested in separate incidents outside the plant. It was the second arrest for the first two. They all went to jail rather than accept the bail condition — a promise to stay 150 feet from the picket line.

The Union appealed the bail condition. Lawyer Clayton Ruby argued that the condition violates the Bill of Rights, which guarantees freedom of speech. He said the condition "will be seen by others as the criminal law intervening on behalf of the bosses."

Mr. Justice Eric Moorhouse of the Ontario Supreme Court (the same judge who granted an injunction against this same union to Texpack management in summer of '71) refused to rescind the major bail condition saying it was "not unreasonable."

Alderman Dan Heap chaired a support conference on Sept 18th, which resolved that Civil Rights of Workers, enshired in Canadian laws, must be upheld to be meaningful. They are:

1. The right of association — the Canadian Bill of Rights.
2. The right to join a Trade Union of (one's) own choice and to participate in its lawful activities. Further an employer is obliged "to bargain in good faith and make a collective agreement" — Ontario Labour Relations Act.
3. It is inlawful for an employer to discriminate against an employee because he is a member of a union — Ontario Labour Relations Act.

The Union is protesting an Ontario Labour Relations Board decision of Sept. 24th to delay hearing of a Union charge ageinst Artistic Woodwork that it has applied to the Board for permission to prosecute the company but the hearing has been postponed until Oct. 25th. Such a delay postpones the enforcement of the Labour Relations Act.

Ms. Parent pointed to the delay as an instance of unequal justice for workers, "When you see the struggle the workers have to put up to get a contract you can understand why there are so many non-unionized immigrant workers working in small sweat shops in Toronto".

The Toronto Waffle has been supporting the Artistic Woodwork strkers' picket line on a regular basis, as have university students and professors, church representatives and rank and file unionists. Financial support could be sent to CTCU 1203a St. Clair Ave. W. Toronto.

(p.3)

PARLIAMENTARY STRIKEBREAKING

Canada's railroads have reduced their working forces by over one-third in fifteen years while vastly stepping up their productivity.

Among the pioneers in the union movement, the railroad workers whose wages and other benefits were near the top, have been falling back steadily. The AVERAGE wage rate of a Canadian railroad worker prior to the 1973 strike was $3.54 an hour — considerably below the MINIMUM rate of workers in many industries which depend on the railway workers to keep operating.

These two critical elements and others, including justified dissatisfaction with pensions and overall frustration with a lack of progress, lie at the root of the recent strike, broken by parliamentary action.

From the conciliation report of Union nominee, Professor J. C. Weldon:

"The two major issues that dominate the dispute, job security and wages, have their origins in a single fact. The Railways as an industry have experienced an almost unique decrease over the years from 1956 to 1971 in size of their labour force, a fall of something like 37%, a unique change brought about by dramatic technical improvements... vastly improved productivity, but... (have) placed a two-fold burden on the railway workers... a feeling of desperation about job security... and gross injustice (at having) been allowed to lag behind the gains in earnings of industries in which productivity has grown much more slowly..."

The rotating strikes which eventually turned into a complete strike, found the railways sitting pat on their pre-strike offer, fully confident that the government would protect their interests and legislate their workers back on the job.

During the strike the negotiating committee of the Non-Ops (the seven Unions comprising the Associated Non-Operating Railway Unions) were pressing to achieve the highlights of the Weldon conciliation report, as against the report of the companies' nominee. The simplistic view was thus nurtured that the Chairman's report (by Judge F. Craig Monroe of British Columbia) must be "fair" since it was generally presumed to be mid-way between the recommendations of the Union and Company nominees.

The recommendation of the Union nominee was for 38 cents an hour increase in the first year of a two-year agreement, and for the same average increase in the second year (to be applied on a percentage basis).

When Parliament passed the law to make the strike illegal, it appointed an arbitrator whose award is binding. The legislated floor of his award is 34 cents an hour, and he is instructed to take into account rising living costs. Under the circumstances it is quite unlikely justification can be found for awarding less than the minuscule 4 cents separating the two stated positions for the first year.

Moreover, the Unions' position in respect to job security, as set out in their nominee's award, is equally modest. It would give some protection from layoff resulting from technological advances to employees with over four years service. Reduction in manpower for the companies would be made by attrition (quits, retirees, dischages, etc.) It is again difficult to visualize the arbitrator rejecting this almost minimal demand. It can only slow down the rate of reduction in the railway labour force as productivity continues to advance.

In addition, the arbitrator will examine other moderate advances asked by the Unions, including pensions, sick leave, vacations, etc.

Regardless of what award will be forthcoming from the arbitrator, no matter how close or distant it comes to the recommendations of the Unions' nominee on the earlier conciliation board, it still leaves the railway workers with the realization that up to now when their struggle becomes effective, it is declared illegal by a strike-breaking parliament acting "in the national interest" (which coincides completely with the interests of the railway owners, and the other foreign and native owners of Canada's industries).

"You either have the right to strike or you don't," said Louis Laberge. President of the Quebec Federation of Labour. The right to strike was meaningless, he said "if the only strikes permitted are those which don't hurt anyone."

His comment clearly dissociated him from the admonition of C.L.C. President Donald MacDonald that once Parliament passes a law, it ought to be obeyed by organized labour.

The difference between these two positions, critically posing militant defiance as against pragmatic capitulation, should be the occasion for deep-going examination of the entire collective bargaining process which prevents Canadian working people from exerting their real power in battling the employers for earnings and a degree of security.

In particular, it is increasingly clear that railroad workers will need to find the ways to express their full power — something that is patently impossible, divided as they are into seventeen different unions, which are in turn banded into three groupings for purposes of dealing with the powerful employers. The employers are invited to get the most productivity from their workers for the least labour cost.

Despite all the complexities, nothing should stand in the way of fearless examination of the joining of all railway workers together. It will require patient examination, then bold action.

Perhaps Canada's socialist movement will look into the matter too, and come up with some friendly suggestions to the battling but frustrated railway workers.

Some thought too might be given to the perspective of an eventual joining together of *all transportation and communication* workers in Canada. What a mighty force for the real interests of the nation that could become!

Bill Walsh, Hamilton

True Dough . . . Not Trudeau

(The Non-Ops rail strike has been settled; other events have since entered upon the scene. However, the following on-the-scene report points to the constant obstacles labour has to confront: the media's failure to report the facts on the workers' side and outright distortion of events.)

It seemed there would be a good representative turn-out; more than 1500 railway workers came from Ontario and Quebec for a show of strength on Parliament Hill, August 30. Though humidity lay heavily and the sun bore down on the Gothic pile that somewhere contained the House of Commons, the hearty chant, "We won't go back," told M.P.s the trains would not be running unless the raises they had patiently waited for since the expiry of contracts last December were realized. Unfortunately the situation had not been put forward to the public.

"Hey! Let's go see those guys inside!" 30 or 40 from among the many peel off ranks, rush the main entrance to the Parliament Buildings, set a minor scuffle going, and so give the lazy media, the chance to sensationalize and distort the strikers' real activities. The strikers' image at the demonstration is created by the actions of these few the cameras focus on by reverberations microphones pick up, and people across Canada have a view of wanton refusal to go back to work confirmed for them. But this is to anticipate — let's go back one-half hour.

12:30 PM — Two men are standing under a tree, brief respite from the sun's heat; they have left their families for the day, hoping to convince men they have yet to meet (and won't) who will be affecting their lives that their demands are fair and should not be repulsed. The heat is more endurable than the cold in the dead of winter when fixing track or hanging on a box-car whistling through the shrewd air. The men stuff waxed papers from their impromptu stand-up picnic into their pockets and step into the sun to join their fellows now descending from buses.

The line takes shape. A worker from St. Catharines shouts to a friend from the Montreal yards. The assemblage is representative not only of areas, but of shops and job categories. A shared feeling of calm determination withstands the oppressive air. The weather is the least of oppressions. Will the careful organization and show of solidarity interest Mr. Average Canadian? Will this present the plight of his fellow citizens who face the cynicism of companies bargaining in bad faith?

12.45 PM — The line of workers begins to form on one side of the huge square. The Peace Tower will be passed, the East Block as well, before the last person gets off the buses down on Wellington St. Eventually one unbroken band of marchers walks the square.

1:03 PM — Only three red-coat Mounties are on duty for Kodak-clicking tourists. Where are the M.P.s? Can there be only three march wardens? As part of the line passes the Peace Tower a small number detach themselves. "Hey! Let's go see these guys!" The exuberance of these 30 or 40 (not the 250 reported later) expresses itself in ways other than the orderliness of the more than 1500 they leave behind.

A handful of Security Guards are surprised inside the entrance. The Parliamentary Library is mistaken for the House of Commons, but the men do not even get that far. They are forced back to the entrance. One of the wood-panelled doors has small panes of glass, the size of a letter to a Member of Parliament. Two or three are broken. The security men have trouble ejecting the strays, for they are being pushed back in again by fellows on the outside. Someone's head is bumped, someone cuts his hand on some glass. There are no real fisticuffs, only the same sort of shoving and milling about one sees in a commuter lineup.

Yet the "World at Six" will give a sound report that would compare to the Storming of the Bastille; newspaper photographers take more dramatic shots by tilting their cameras; T.V. reporters throw themselves into the midst on the broil as the fitting place from which to make their commentary; editorial writers outdo one another in cliché-ridden condemnation of violence without reflecting on the violence companies commit against workers, wives, children, and the whole nation with their unscrupulous bargaining tactics.

1:15 PM — Back on the lines, where the significant proceedings are going on unreported, workers are orderly in their demonstration of protest.

1:20 PM — Dief the Chief comes to a side door and loses what few interested ears he might have had with his disappointing pass-off of the issues.

1:22 PM — One has a chance to talk with some of the Non-Op demonstrators. A C.P.R. carpenter earlier tried to reach his M.P. without success. He works in Toronto but his family lives in the country not far from Kingston, a cheaper place to live. He is with his wife and two of their children.

When he is able to join them on weekends he brings much less than $195, two week's salary, with him. It is hard to raise a family on such low earnings. His wife works, she has no choice but to. They are a neat, quiet couple, but the struggle to keep the family going does show in their faces.

1:30 PM — That most workers' wives have to work is a fact confirmed in talks with others; they must, in order for their families to survive. Mothers work not for family luxuries, but for necessities. One man says he thought he was fortunate in getting a house for $5,000 downpayment. His $100 a month-payments he cannot afford, yet renting would be even worse.

1:37 PM — David Lewis ventures to come out to address the workers. He utters one sentence the workers can take: "It's a fair report (the Weldon report) and it ought to be accepted by the railroads." But the rest of what he says is abuse of the workers for creating a disturbance and criticism of their "irresponsible behaviour." But the charges are levied at the wrong group, the mass who were orderly. He is hollered down with "We won't go back!!" So much for this Friend of Labour.

2:00 PM — A young man with a placard argues with two holidaying University of Waterloo students who claim he does not seem "poor" to them. He works, they wander about the country; they have college to attend; he cannot save money for marriage.

The hot August days are over. The Non-Ops are back to work in autumn's coolness, disappointed that it had to take such lengths to get such minimal adjustments. The Parliament Hill demonstration dit not bring much to light that was not known or could have been predicted before. The bosses thought it would be a runthrough of the now familiar script for Canadian rail strikes. However, there are signs that the public is beginning to be less easily manoeuvered into anger against strikers. The strike did cause hardships, but the government and the railways were also targets of criticism.

The public would have identified more with this struggle had it not been for the media. Do you recall seeing pay statistics in the papers statistics that would have shown how low salaries actually were? What trials did the C.B.C. convey to you other than trapped tourists in Newfoundland? The grossest instance of cynicism and "lazy" reporting of the media was the sensationalising of the "violence" on demonstration day, a tactic brought in play against all strikers across the land. In times of the non-issue interviewers and reporters can be suave and sympathetic, but they cannot be relied on for the basics of responsible journalism.

The Waffle can do something now, and in the future. We can report ourselves. We can become the watch-dogs of the press and insist that omissions and distortions be rectified. We can stand to concern ourselves more with labour by helping to get all negotiations reported accurately.

Barry Mills, Ottawa

(p.4)

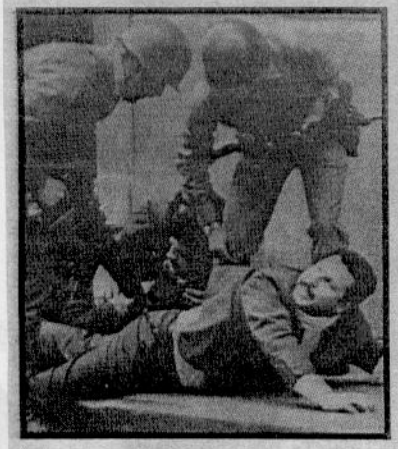
THE STRUGGL

(see p.46)

ALLENDE'S PROGRAM

In the first year of Allende's Unidad Popular regime, unemployment was cut in half as stimulated demand opened up the factories to more labour. Popular demand and consumption of food increased dramatically. The government undertook a major redistribution of wages and re-allocation of wages. This led to the need to import food, until it was necessary to import 1/3 of the food supply. If the Chilean middle class were starving because they only had meat once a week, the Chilean working class would have been dead long ago.

The working class movement was different from the rest of Latin America. It has a long history of organization and of militancy. It formed the core of what became the Unidad Popular. **Foster**



It grew by slow, patient, careful, tedious day-to-day, difficult, boring unromantic work, often extraordinarily dangerous, and gained mass support. It succeeded in penetrating every exploited stratum. **Zeitlin**

It had increasingly gathered splinters from the old liberal middle-class parties and the Christian Democrats who had found their base disintegrating and their reformist rhetoric coming back to haunt them. **Foster**

THE OPPOSITION

The Christian Democrats, led by Frei were a party that had made an ideology out of transcending class loyalties and as a consequence were constantly being tripped up, so that at any crisis point there were shearings off from the party. Another of these appeared to be occurring just before the coup.

As the differences between the National Party, of the extreme right and the Christian Democrats grew less, a joint strategy for the subversion of the Allende government appeared. It involved working with the army and the petit bourgeoisie to hamstring Chile economically and thus to provoke as much internal chaos and lack of control as possible in order to promote a military intervention. **Foster**

POPULAR PARTICIPATION

In the program of the Unidad Popular, popular participation was seen as supplementing parliamentary democracy and elections. The more radical elements stressed the importance of direct participation in the processes of power.

In this effort there were two main routes. The most effective was the taking over of an industry by the peasants or workers. The other route was the nationalisation of an industry by decree and the sending in of an intervenor to begin a process of creating a committee of workers control.

Another type of workers' organization occurred in the poor residential districts. In late 1971 shortages began to appear, in Santiago especially, as speculation, hoarding and black marketing became perfected by the right wing in their efforts to bring about economic chaos. For example, the stores would be without cigarettes, but a raid on a warehouse would reveal thousands of packages. Allende set up Committees of Price Control and Supply, made up of the women of these areas. They demanded that the merchants sell at the legal prices or they would boycott them and make sure they were at the bottom of the government supply list. These committees brought the women together, raised their consciousness and gave them a broader view of the whole society.

What scared the Christian Democrats was that members of their party began to participate in these committees. **O'Sullivan**

As factories were abandoned by technicians and management, workers had to take more and more initiative. They had to design their own spare parts, find alternate sources of raw materials and work overtime to make up deficiencies.

Committees of Production were set up. At a higher level there was an Administrative Council of workers and representatives of the state. With the attempted coup in Oct. 1972, there was a coming together of many committees in various geographic areas; of students, of workers, of vigilantes, of price control etc to form community command groups. Through these, members of each group gained a perspective on the problems of the other groups. Thus women ceased to be concerned just with their homes and workers only with their factories.

Essentially, there emerged new forms of democracy. There was a handing down of state control to the mass organizations, through functionaries created by state decree. **O'Sullivan**

According to a Chilean professor who was here shortly after the coup, Frei the former president, and leader of the Christian Democrats, and his friends had connived for a very limited coup of fifteen days, for the president to be dislodged, and new elections held. There is now a crisis of conscience among the Christian Democrat leadership. Those who worked so conscientiously through a Parliamentary system are now without a program. **Foster**

NATURE OF COUP

I cannot believe that Chile will be an ordinary military dictatorship in the future. The coup was a classical example of counter revolution. It was a movement which managed to mobilize independent proprietors, small business men, merchants, who felt threatened by the transformation process, as the shock troops of the big bourgeoisie in the country. The ones who were really losing were the owners of the big corporations, the owners of big landed estates...It was a naked and overt confrontation of classes. The door-to-door searches in every working class area show that the military knew they had to destroy a class and a class leadership. **Zeitlin**

This was a working class in an historical sense, conscious of a mission, that now had a chance to see the possibilities of the future within its grasp, and even with the decimation of that leadership, and even with the tight rein that the military has at its command, I believe we are going to see that the meaning of revolutionary armed struggle as the alternative will not be something which will have to be taught from abstract theory. It is something which Allende in his dying breath finally realized in its fullest. He said:

"I call on you now in my last moments, not to fight for the restoration of democracy in Chile, but to forge the socialist revolution." **M. Zeitlin**

HOW THE COUP WAS ENGINEERED

Multilateral Aid agencies and aid sources which are controlled by the United States cut off aid to Chile. The impact of this on a particularly vulnerable and externally dependent economy was almost catastrophic. The result was an economic situation where you have cut off the capacity to import by tieing up more and more of Chilean foreign exchange in the payment of debts, you have cut off access to credits, you have cut off the capacity to import, and you have cut off therefore, the capacity to import food.

Specific instance of U.S. political intervention was the U.S. money which was floated to finance the individual owner-operators of trucks who went on strike, thus bringing on much of the economic chaos in the month or two just before the coup. The truckers had struck in September, the Chilean spring, the year before too as it is a time when they can most seriously affect the economy,

Chile
versus the
corporations

Latin American Working Group (LAWG)
Box 6300, Station A,
Toronto 1, Ontario. 925-7912 .75

REVIEWS

WORKS ON CHILE:

New Chile. Prepared by the North American Congress on Latin American (NACLA) $2.25 from Box 57, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. USA 10025.

"Chile versus the Corporations". 2nd ed. Published by Development Education Centre and Latin American Working Group. Copies available from LAWG, Box 6300, Station A, Toronto 1, Ont. at 75 cents plus postage.

Even though the coup has overthrown Chilean democracy and its reforms are being undone, even though Sharp has given portion of legitimacy to tyranny and DeHavilland can now proceed onward to profit and glory, the fact remains that Allende's Chile is still very much alive to many. The discussion elsewhere on this page confirms that imagination is not strained when Canada is compared to the Chilean situation.

New Chile offers an anti-imperialist perspective yet it is not the thorough-going socialist analysis to be found in books on the Allende years. Here the facts speak with all their own eloquence. A necessary Glossary and Chronology precede the work's two sections, The First Year (Allende's presidency) and Imperialism and the Old Order. **New Chile** is a

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Excerpts from talks given at Ontario Waffle Seminar Glendon College, Toronto Sept. 30.

Speakers were: Tim Draimin, John Foster, Dean Martin, Lisa North and Michael O'Sullivan from the Latin American Working Group (LAWG)
Maurice Zeitlin, Professor of Political Science, University. of Wisconsin and author of:
"Revolutionary Consciousness in the Cuban working class.
"Economy of Underdeveloped Capitalism"
"Structure of the Dominant Class in Chile"
lived in Chile 1965-67
Andreas Papandreou, Minister for Economic Coordination in the last elected government of Greece,
John Hutcheson of the Ontario Waffle Movement, Professor of Political Science York University.

These excerpts are taken from tapes made by Charlotte McEwen of the Waffle News Editorial Board. Copies of the tapes can be made from the originals if groups wish to send 2 cassettes (90 minutes each) to the Waffle News. Scripts are also being prepared .50 each.

→ p. 5

E FOR CHILE

(p.5)

when fertilizer and feed are needed in the countryside. **Foster**

U.S. companies also intervened through a series of events which can be summed up as the copper war. In the fight over compensation, the corporations drew on the American state and the European courts as weapons against Chile. For example Chilean copper shipments to Europe were held in embargo by French courts. This is well summarized in "Chile and the Corporations". This also affected for a period of time, and for a crucial period of time, the cutting off of Canadian private bank credit to Chile. This was part of an international scheme spearheaded by Kennicot and Anaconda to discredit and put a stranglehold on what is the lifeblood of Chile, her copper. **Martin**

POLITICAL INTERVENTION BY U.S.

The two months before the coup read like the game logs of one of the early plays of "Politica", a simulation game paid for by the U.S. Department of Defence in 1965 and 1966, and used by officers at the Pentagon and other training centers ever since.

Operational training of this kind becomes important when you look at the staff of what NACLA (North American Congress for Latin America) calls the "coup team" of Americans which was assembled in the American Embassy in Santiago during the period of the Allende administration. These Americans had been on the scene in the repression and overthrow of democratic governments and guerilla movements in Santa Domingo, Guatamela, Brazil and so on. **Martin**

ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN CHILE

The U.S. has played a significant role in equipping and training Chilean armed forces personnel. Chile has ranked second only to Brazil as a country receiving U.S. military Aid. The U.S. trained the military on bases in the U.S. and in the Panama Zone where they maintain a large CIA training center.

It has been argued that the Chilean bourgeoisie, with the collaboration of the U.S., had taken pains to build up a strong military institution as a counterweight to the growing power of the left-wing parties.

Because Allende tried to cultivate the officers of the armed forces, the U.P. government continued to accept American military aid. It was the only kind of American aid that Chile received. In 1971, for example, the U.S. gave Chile $ 5 million for transport aircraft and paratroop equipment. **North**

ARMY AS POLITICAL "CENTRE"

At one time the military had represented, with the Christian Democrats, the political centre that had to be won over for the right.

Allende had been assisted by the commander-in-chief of the army, General Pratts who, though not a Marxist was a nationalist who was sympathetic to the U.P. Program. However, by mid-August of this year his resignation was forced by a lack of confidence vote of his general staff and he was followed by a general well-trained in U.S. tactics. **North**

AND IN CANADA

At present in NORAD, Canadian forces have been put under direct control of the U.S. Government. The 1962 so-called "Missile Crisis" revealed that the Canadian government had virtually lost ultimate authority over its own military forces as the U.S. government began to mobilize Canadian forces against the Cuban government and the Cuban people (contrary to the instructions of the Canadian Prime Minister). Career officers in the Canadian military are subject to training in the U.S. and assimilated into the U.S. military techniques and assumptions. **Hutcheson**

Chile was one of the few last places in the world in which there were still genuine parliamentary institutions with the full panoply of freedoms in which a socialist movement did not use that to whittle down its demands. As it made more profound demands for the restructuring of the society it gained an increasingly greater wider and more loyal mass base. **M. Zeitlin**

The history of Chile is important to us because Canada and Chile are linked by the fact that they are dependent capitalist countries in the U.S. empire... The anti-capitalist struggle of the working class becomes inevitably an anti-imperialist struggle and the central contradiction becomes that between imperialism and the working class. **Hutcheson**

CONCLUSION

The history of socialism has been a long series of tragedies as well as of triumphs, but always in our favour as capitalism continues is its tendency to generate contradictions which it cannot solve. **Hutcheson**

One might conclude that armed struggle is the only way. One might conclude this is going to be a hard uphill and doubtful journey. But here let me state my conviction that I feel it is really wrong to look at the defeat in Greece and the defeat in Chile and to conclude from them that counter-revolution is going to dominate this century.

We should not forget Vietnam and Indo-China, where a people that technically is not well-advanced, has with the aid of some other forces to be sure, brought to its knees the technological giant of the west.

We should not for a moment forget the struggle in Africa, which is not going badly (Guiné-Bissau has just proclaimed its independence). We should not forget that it will be difficult, despite Chile, to keep Latin America under the boot of fascism. And at the same time we should take much more seriously the struggle at home, wherever that happens to be. In different places, in different forms, it is the same struggle — it is a global struggle. **Andreas Papandreou**

IN CANADA

We can show our solidarity for the people of Chile in many ways but ultimately the only way we can show solidarity with other people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism is in our struggle for an independent socialist Canada. **John Hutcheson**

: TWO REVIEWS

compendium of NACLA Newsletter published in 1971 and 1972, but this is an instance where history is still news. These reports are salted with updated tables, documents translated from the Spanish, the "UP" Programme of Government and a most informative chart of foreign investment. It is astounding to learn that virtually all Chile's management and accounting services, financial institutions, advertising, and industries like pharmaceuticals were owned by outside investors.

The Canadian pamphlet, "Chile versus the Corporations," is a supplement to what **New Chile** can tell us, for it appeals "for an active and critical response in Canada to the economic blockade of Chile" and details Canadian corporate and government interference in another country's affairs, particularly with regard to copper exploitation, debt negotiations, and arrangement for future credit. The 56 pages were assembled for church study groups, but it is perhaps the most succinct documentation and condemnation of a Canada which refuses to see the ironic parallel that exists between our two exploited countries.

Alternate sources of power

In the furious debate going on at present over oil prices and sources of energy for Canada's future, many authorities and military groups are taking for granted that nuclear power will provide the answer — for ample power, and for non-polluting power.

For instance, the report from the Federal Department of Industry, Mines and Resources, "An Energy Policy for Canada, Phase 1", foresees hydro and nuclear power sources for the future almost exclusively. No serious mention is made of Research and Development of solar, geothermal or other sources. This is not surprising when we consider the power exerted by the oil lobbies, and the public funds that have been poured into a form of nuclear power that provides a source of plutonium for nuclear bombs — which Canada has been in the business of supplying to Taiwan, India, Brazil, Argentina etc.

To make the best use of the ten year lead time which we are told separates us from the end of presently known reserves of available oil in Canada, it is imperative that research funds which come from the Canadian taxpayer be directed in the best possible directions.

There is at present a considerable body of information available on the dangers connected to nuclear power plants — the disposal of radioactive waste, some of it active for 240,000 years, the raising of the temperature of massive quantities of water that are used for cooling, the escape of radiation into the food-chain which concentrates it, etc. There is also a body of information on alternate forms of energy, which are more compact, less dangerous, and already well on the way to development.

These are summarized in two booklets, HAZARDS OF THE PEACEFUL ATOM: and ENERGY ALTERNATIVES, both written by Lille D'Easum of the B.C. Voice of Women.

In the latter an argument is made for using our natural gas in thermal electric plants or in individual gas fuel cells. The fuel cells convert the gas directly (and economically) into electricity. The cell consists of a "black box" which has no moving parts to wear out, makes no noise, is free of vibration, and generates only electricity and innocuous products.

It could provide each home or office building with its own electrical power supply. It requires one-third less fuel to generate the same amount of electricity as a conventional power plant, and is very compact.

Thermonuclear **fusion,** as opposed to **fission,** is the process of joining, or fusing the nuclei of lightweight elements. The resulting small loss of mass is converted into energy. When this occurs new material is formed having less total mass than the component parts. The resulting small loss of mass is converted into energy. It involves extremely high temperatures and technology now on the drawing boards.

Solar power would transform the earth's heat load into a usable form of power, and there are many systems proposed for doing this. Some have been used reliably for ten years in the Space program; others would desalinate sea water in the process.

Several types of solar power systems would provide units for individual buildings. Others would use wind power, and others sea-thermal power which would generate power from the different levels of heat in the oceans.

Other sources of energy include plant algae. A plot nine miles square could supply the energy needs of a million people.

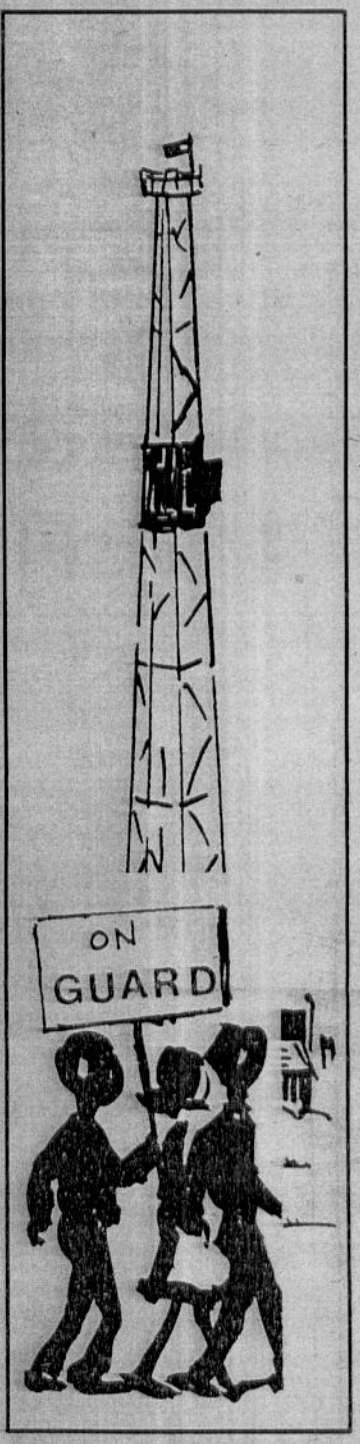
Geothermal power, coming from the earth's interior, is being tried out in several countries.

Methane can be derived from the organic wastes of people and animals. Odorless and non-polluting, it could meet all present energy needs, while cutting in half the problem of sewage and animal waste disposal.

The booklet suggests the possibility of a network of pollution-free energy sources.

The pamphlets are available from Waffle News Publications, .25 cents each. Pollution Probe Toronto has also been collecting information.

C. McEwen



STRUGGLES IN THE MIDEAST

To help in understanding the position of the Arab states in their struggle to liberate their lands and to support the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, the EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINIAN RIGHTS (P.O. Box 4185 Station E, Ottawa) has put together a paper, **Palestine; An Historical Background,** 22 pages, mimeographed, .25. It includes texts from the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, etc.

To help in understanding the class struggle in Israel, and how Zionism has worked to obliterate that struggle, the Emergency Committee recommends the pamphlet, **The Class Nature of Israeli Society,** by Haim Hanegbi, Moshe Machover, and Akiva Orr,. This is a reprint of an article first published in New Left Review in 1971. 24 pages, available from the Emergency Committee, .25.

The article argues that although class conflicts do exist in Israeli society they are constrained by the fact that the society as a whole is subsidised from outside for its political role in the region which leaves little prospect for the development of a revolutionary movement. A revolutionary breakthrough in the Arab world, however, could release the activity of the masses throughout the Arab world, change the balance of power and thus reduce Israel's usefulness for imperialism.

Once this happens, the Zionist regime would be open to mass challenge from within Israel itself.

C. McEwen

Kamal Boullata

ON RECOGNITION

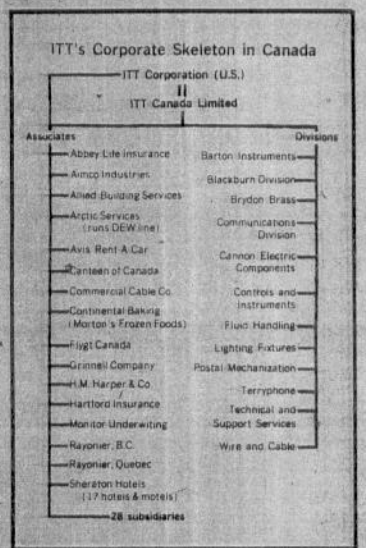
Canada recognized:

CHINA — Twenty years after the coming to power of the People's republic, and then only after painstaking negotiations.

CHILE — Nineteen days after a violent military coup which toppled a democratically elected regime. This was followed immediately by the unblocking of credit whose denial had contributed to that coup.

SOUTH VIETNAM — The Thieu regime as the legitimate government, seven months after the Agreement to End the War and Restore Peace had laid out a process of reconciliation to be followed by elections for a unified government. This process had been sabotaged within the seven months by the refusal of the Canadians on the International Commission for Control and Supervision (ICCS) to allow local commanders to come together to negotiate the boundaries between their areas of control. (Incidentally, the Indonesians on the ICCS had tried to get the Canadians to agree to this although Mr. Sharp kept telling the world that the Indonesians always sided with the Canadians)

ISRAEL — Following admission of Israel to the United Nations in 1949 "because it seemed a good thing to do at that time". This was after Israel had signed the Lausanne Protocol to settle the Palestine problem within the framework of the 1947 U.N. partition plan, and had been admitted to the U.N. on condition that she would recognise the Palestinian right to repatriation or compensation.



COUNCIL DEBATES LABOUR POLICY

The Ontario Waffle Council met at Innisfree Farm near Woodstock on July 15-16. About 50 Wafflers from the southern Ontario groups attended. Debates centred around labour policy and constitutional matters. Delegates supported a statement from the Waffle Labour Committee calling for top priority to be given to working with unions. A proposal from the Ottawa group that the Waffle not work with American branch plant unions was defeated.

A motion for a Resources and De-Industrialization Campaign was passed. It is to be comprised of a series of public meetings this fall in the industrial areas of South-Western Ontario, ending up with a meeting on primary resource extraction in Sudbury. Budget of $5,000 was approved. The meetings are to concern themselves with the general themes in the R. and D. Campaign, and with questions specific to the region where the meeting is held.

Bonnie Brown and Jim Laxer were elected to head it up.

Most indicated they were in favour of a draft constitution from the constitutional committee which would assign central power and responsibility to the executive and council of the provincial Waffle as opposed to the convention and the local group. An Ottawa resolution asking that new elections be held for the provincial executive immediately was defeated.

Corileen North was elected membership secretary by acclamation. Bob Laxer was acclaimed co-chairman of the educational committee along with Julia Bass. Judy Skinner and Bela Egyed are to head up a new organizing committee.

A new publication Advance was set up under the direction of the York Waffle. It is to be a forum for internal debate.

Copies of the Council resolution on labour have been mailed to all members.-

HIGH COSTS PUSH FARMER

In spite of a heavy crop this year the farmers of Renfrew County, north of Ottawa, can expect another year of buying high price food, as the hay crops in the area are not of high enough protein levels to support cattle during the winter.

The problem became increasingly obvious when the U.S. placed restrictions on soybean meal and the prices jumped dramatically.

Thus, although there have been increases in food prices the profits have been eaten up by the increase in seed and high protein feeds.

In another survey done this summer around Winchester Springs, east of Ottawa, much the same pattern was discovered. Average total receipts for 1972 were $27,703 and the average total operating costs were $23,265, leaving the farmer with an average income of $4,438. 58% of the farmers had decreased profits for the year and 17% stayed about the same.

At one time the Renfrew area was one of Ottawa's major suppliers of eggs. Since 1960 the number of hens and pullets has decreased, and half of the eggs in Ottawa stores now come from Burlington in Western Ontario.

Renfrew county farmers have also been forced out of agricultural areas that could be viable, such as poultry, swine and sheep production. In the last 15 years swine production has dropped by almost one-half.

If Renfrew county is to regain its share of the Ottawa markets and provide a reasonable living for its farmers and other inhabitants, fundamental changes will have to be introduced, to free the farmers from the whims of U.S. exporter policy, to expand the cultivation of Horsebeans and other soybean substitutes that do give high yields in that area, and to guarantee a fair return on their produce and a decent standard of living.

PRICE FIXING SEEMS SUCCESSFUL

In these days of daily price rises — it is interesting to read of price fixing in China from the booklet 'Economic Management China 1972' by Joan Robinson.

Since China is still mainly an agricultural economy, the whole industrial price level is built up on the price of grain, for this determines the cost of living, and so the lowest wage rate. Higher wages are calculated on that base, which determines the whole wage and salary bill for industry, commerce and administration.

The main crops, grain, vegetable oil, sugar, tobacco and cotton are dealt with under the national plan. Representatives from each province meet once a year to learn which has had a surplus and which a deficit and plan how these may be overcome. Some commodities under the national plan have nationally fixed prices. On others the provinces fix some prices and small collectives fix their own.

The cost of production of each commodity is made up of cost of materials, cost of power, the wages and salaries, and amortization. There is then a tax and a planned profit. The tax rate most often quoted was 7 per cent of ex-factory prices. The profit for particular commodities is set according to their uses. For chemical fertiliser it is very low because this is an input for agriculture. For wine and cigarettes they are highest, though by no means high by our standards — 60 per cent of selling prices.

For goods controlled by the national plan, a standard is chosen of a good average production (not the very best) and the output of other exterprises is priced in relation to it.

The economic principle behind planning retail prices is to ensure an overall value of sales that will absorb the overall flow of purchasing power coming from the total money income of the community. The money income of the community consists of the wage and salary bill, including walfare funds, that enters into the costs of goods to be sold. Expenditure from the incomes earned in producing them covers this part of their costs. There are also incomes earned in administration, the armed forces, investment and social services.

Joan Robinson says, "When the overall price level is correctly set, the surplus, that is the excess of the sales value of consumption goods over their own costs, matches the excess of total income over these costs, so that there is neither excess nor deficiency of demand relatively to supply. The Chinese authorities have been remarkably successful in maintaining this balance through good times and bad."

And again, "Subject to overall balance, social policy requires that the pattern of prices is such as to catch purchasing power from relative luxuries, while making it possible for the lowest income to afford the necessaries of lige. In this respect also, Chinese policy seems to succeed pretty well."

C. Potter, Ottawa
Aug. 28, 1973.

Joan Robinson
Economic Management China 1972
Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute
Modern China Series, No. 4
(March 1973), London

PUBLICATIONS

AVAILABLE FROM ONTARIO WAFFLE, TORONTO

We greet the appearance of our sister publication, the internal discussion periodical, Advance. Two issues have come forth. If you have not received them, they are available from the address below.

Waffle Labour Committee. Programme for Ontario Trade Unionists. (presented at Ontario Fed. of Labour Convention 1971) 25 cents

Canadian Resources. (A supplement prepared by Wafflers and published in the Last Post.) 10 cents

James Laxer. Lament for an Industry. (The U.S. — Can. Auto pact, Last Post) 10 cents

Brantford. Waffle. Papers on Building the Waffle. (Workshop, Dec. 1972) 50 cents

BUMPER STICKERS

50 cents each (25 each, bulk orders)
The above are available from Ontario Waffle, Box 339, Station E, Toronto.

AVAILABLE FROM THE OTTAWA

Robin Mathews. "Independance, Socialism, and Culture." Ottawa Waffle Educational, Dec. 1972. 25 cents

John Smart, Robin Mathews, et al. An Annotated Reading List. (8 pages, on independence and the cultural question and history of left movements and thought in Canada).

Ottawa Waffle. Farming and Manufacturing in Eastern Ontario. (5,000 word study with statistics) 50 cents copies of the Waffle Manifesto for an Independent and Socialist Canada.

Box 4291, Station E. Ottawa.

NIXON DRINKS

"Nixon Drinks Canada Dry" buttons 50 cents each. 15 cents to Waffle Groups in orders of ten or more. Available from Gord Laxer, 24 Humewood Gardens, Toronto.

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WAFFLE CALENDAR

"Canadian Politics in Historical Perspective" is the title of a new series of public educationals to be sponsored by the Toronto Waffle educational committee during the fall. The sessions will take place Sunday evenings beginning October 28 at OISE auditorium. The series follows the pattern of last winters' successful series on the political economy of Canada now published by McClelland and Stewart under the title **(Canada) Limited**.

This year's course features some new speakers and topics. Caroline and Lorne Brown co-authors of **An Unofficial History of the RCMP** are participating along with Quebec historian Stanley Ryerson and Reg. Whitaker from Carleton's political science department. The course is designed to provide a factual and historical background to the evolution of contemporary politics in Canada as well as describe and analyse alternative interpretations of current conflicts in Canada society.

Opening lecture this year will be given by Jim Laxer on the topic "Politics, Class and the National Policy in Canada". Subsequent lecturers in addition to those mentioned already are Mel Watkins, Robert Laxer and John Hutcheson.

Registration fee for the complete course is $10.00 (2.50 per single lecture). To pre-register send cheques payable to "Canadian Politics Course" to 2 Sultan Street apt. 201 Toronto 5. An advance reading list will be sent. One can also register at the opening lecture on October 28.

A year having now passed since the regrouping of the Ontario Waffle as an independent political formation, the Executive has decided that 1974 memberships should be issued from October 1 on. Existing members will have until February 28, 1975 to renew their membership witbout loss of membership rights, and a further year in which they can renew without reapplying for membership.

The National Energy Board will be conducting hearings on the export of Canadian oil sometime in October or November. The Toronto Arctic Research Committee is considering the merits and contents of a Waffle brief for these hearings. Any Waffler who is interested or has input ideas please contact Ellie Prepas, 541 Arlington Ave., Apt. 3, Toronto.

R & D MEETINGS IN WESTERN ONTARIO

Fri., Nov. 2 — London; Thurs., Nov. 8 — Kitchener; Thurs., Nov. 15 — Brantford (John Richards, Sask. MLA) Thurs., Nov. 22 — St. Catharines, Thurs., Nov. 28 — Hamilton

The Provincial Education Committee will meet in Kitchener-Waterloo Sunday, November 25. Bob Laxer and Julia Bass are the contacts.

The Annual Convention will take place in Toronto on the weekend of Dec. 8 & 9

A special weekend educational is being planned for Jan. 12 & 13 on the topic of social democracy.

A series of five public lectures on "The National Question and Socialism in Canada is being planned to begin, in January.

OTTAWA SUMMER

During August, Ottawa held two educationals on the A B C's of labour, and provided a panel on Waffle's Relation to Labour and the Working Class at a general meeting.

At the first educational, Professor John Taylor of Carleton University traced the uneven development of Trade Unions in Canada from the first strike of the voyageurs in 1794 through the era of "protective associations" until 1872 when unions were legalized, through the formation and reformation of various joint bodies to coordinate local unions into larger groupings and the problems around the differences in approach between resource-based unions and industry-based unions. Ralph Starr, Research director of CBRT listed the many ways the cards are stacked against workers coming together to gain increases in pay and better conditions of work. He explained how 8 unions, all with different headquarters in different places had to co-ordinate their efforts to bargain with 11 railways through the Associated Non-Opening Unions.

At the second, a picnic, discussion of Canadian Labour History from the 30's to the present was summarised through three reviews of current books. Rosemary Warskett reviewed Irving Abella's book., **"Nationalism, Communism and Canadian Labour"**, Esther Mathews reviewed chapters of **Capitalism and the National Question in Canada**, edited by Gary Teeple and John Smart dealt with **Organized Labour and Pressure Politics** a new book on the Canadian Labour Congress by David Kwavnick.

Panelists Nancy Stunden, Nik Aplin and Steve Paulsson also commented on the three books. Following a general discussion, the afternoon wound up with a decision to examine current contracts in Ottawa are unions in respect to their Management Rights Clause.

The educational at the general meeting centered around the progress of the demands made by the railway workers, the significance of Management Rights Clauses, especially in government and related contracts where government is given the right to define "essential services" as in Bill 89 in Quebec, and the use of percentage raises and fringe benefits to hide the attempt to close gap between different levels of workers.

Also examined were examples in Canada and other countries where socialist parties have been elected to power, always with the support of the Trade Union Movement, which then can go no further than Trade Unions will go in creating radical social change.

A series of internal educationals around the book Canada Ltd., is beginning the first week of November.

HAMILTON

The Hamilton Waffle will have regular membership meetings every third Monday evening of each month. There are two labour Strikes of significant proportion going on in Hamilton, C.U.P.E. Locals 5, 167, inside & outside workers for the City of Hamilton were on strike for two months. The Hamilton Waffle sent a $25 donation to the strike-fund along with a note of support for the striking city workers. Also, at National Steel Car (Hamilton) the small U.S.W.A. local there (approx. 800 workers) has been on strike for over 3 months now. There was a "wildcat" there early this spring, and a number of difficult issues remain to be settled. The workers at National Steel Car (a branch of Dofasco) have had their union broken 2-3 times previously and the Hamilton Waffle is watching this situation this summer very closely... a number of political reasons (Steelworkers-vs-Wafflers; John Morgan is their staff rep.!) have kept the Hamilton Waffle from offering more support to these workers at this time.

Paul Middleton.

(Canada). Ltd. The political economy of dependency edited by Robert M. Laxer McClelland and Stewart Toronto to 1973, paperback 271 pages, $3.95.

This collection consists of edited versions of the lectures given during the Toronto Waffle's winter 1973 educationals on "The Political Economy of Canada". Jim Laxer and Mel Watkins contribute three chapters each; John Hutcheson two.

Among the other contributors are John Smart and Robin Mathews of the Ottawa Waffle group. Appearing under the pseudonym "Christina Maria Hill" is an essay on women by wellknown woman Waffler in Toronto. Robert Laxer, the volume's editor, has written a twenty page introduction.

Taken as a whole **(Canada) Ltd.** provides a good insight into the minds and strategies of those individuals whom the public identifies with the Waffle in Ontario. What is new is the critique of the NDP as a irredeemable social democratic formation — a position appropriate to the Waffle's present existence outside the party where it originated 1969. Following from this is the call for a new socialist party which Mel Watkins makes in the concluding chapter. Canadian social science students will find the economic chapters useful. They bring up to date the analysis the Waffle first began to lay down in 1969-70. For drive and literary merit the chapters on women and culture (by Mathews) are in a class by themselves.

The Toronto Waffle is making **(Canada) Ltd.** available to Waffle groups and individual members at a special rate. The address for orders is: Ontario Waffle, Box 339, Station E Toronto. The book will be reviewed at greater length in a later issue.

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ONTARIO WAFFLE
Box 339, Station 'E'
Toronto, Ontario

ONTARIO WAFFLE NEWS
Box 4291 Station 'E'
Ottawa, Ontario

☐ I wish to apply for membership in the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada. Minimum Fees ($5 for Income Earners and University Students; $1 for non-income earners) include subscription to Waffle News. Applications must be approved by the local Waffle group where one exists.

☐ I wish to subscribe to Waffle News at $3.00 for 12 issues.

☐ I wish to donate to the Ontario Waffle or to the Ontario Waffle News.

Name. . . . . .

Address. . . . . City. . . . . .

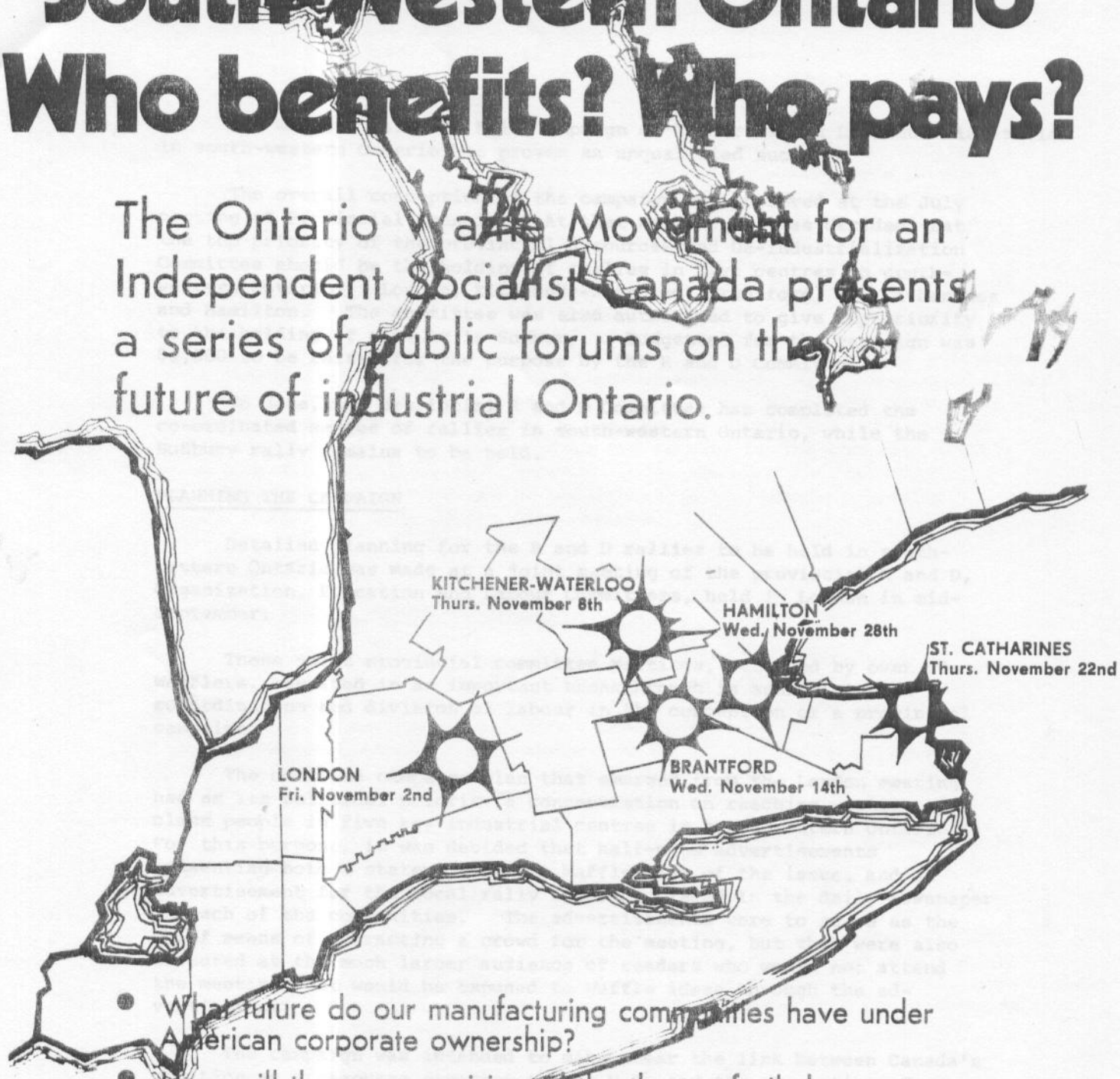
Union or Professional Organization. . . . . .

Telephone. . . . . Date. . . . . Amount $. . . . . .

(Make cheques payable to Ontario Waffle or Ontario Waffle News)

Foreign ownership in South-Western Ontario
Who benefits? Who pays?

The Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada presents a series of public forums on the future of industrial Ontario.



- What future do our manufacturing communities have under American corporate ownership?
- How will the energy crisis and the threat of oil shortages affect our jobs and our cost of living?
- Why are real wages falling in this period of inflation while corporate profits rocket up?
- What can workers do to fight back to protect their jobs, their standard of living and the independence of their country?

REPORT OF THE ONTARIO WAFFLE STANDING COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES AND DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION

* * * *

The Ontario Waffle's Fall Campaign on Resources and De-industrialization in south-western Ontario has proven an unqualified success.

The overall conception of the campaign was approved at the July meeting of Provincial Council. At that meeting, it was decided that the top priority of the provincial Resources and De-industrialization Committee should be the holding of rallies in five centres in south-western Ontario: London, Kitchener-Waterloo, Brantford, St. Catharines and Hamilton. The committee was also authorized to give top priority to the holding of a rally in Sudbury. Budgetted for the campaign was $5,000 to be raised for the purpose by the R and D Committee.

To date, the provincial R and D Committee has completed the co-ordinated series of rallies in south-western Ontario, while the Sudbury rally remains to be held.

PLANNING THE CAMPAIGN

Detailed planning for the R and D rallies to be held in south-western Ontario was made at a joint meeting of the provincial R and D, Organization, Education and Labour Committees, held in London in mid-September.

These joint provincial committee meetings, attended by over 50 Wafflers, resulted in an important breakthrough in achieving both co-ordination and division of labour in the conception of a provincial campaign.

The detailed campaign plan that emerged from the London meeting had as its political priority a concentration on reaching working class people in five key industrial centres in south-western Ontario. For this purpose, it was decided that half-page advertisements presenting both a statement of the Waffle view of the issues and an advertisement for the local rally would be placed in the daily newspaper in each of the communities. The advertisements were to serve as the chief means of attracting a crowd for the meeting, but they were also directed at the much larger audience of readers who would not attend the meeting, but would be exposed to Waffle ideas through the advertisement.

The campaign was intended to make clear the link between Canada's position as a resource exporter to the U.S. and the stagnation of manufacturing in Ontario. In the advertisements, the oil crisis was tied together with the problems of job creation in manufacturing in each local area.

At the London planning meeting and in later planning meetings in each of the five centres, the specific orientation of each meeting and the list of speakers was worked out. In general, as the campaign proceeded more attention was paid to the specific issues of the energy crisis, for obvious reasons.

A general decision of the London planning meeting which applied to all five of the rallies was that each meeting would be held in a working class part of town and that we would avoid university settings.

A highly workable division of labour resulted from co-ordination between the R and D Committee and the other provincial committees on the organization and follow-up for the campaign. The R and D committee was responsible for the organizing, advertising and political content of the meetings: the labour committee was responsible for providing a trade unionist as a speaker for each meeting; the organizing committee was responsible for planning the follow-up beginning with the distribution of contact forms and a statement on the Waffle to interested persons at the meetings and continuing with visits by the provincial committee to each city 10 days after the rally to try to sign up the contacts gained; the education committee was responsible for ensuring that an on-going public educational programme be undertaken in the months following the R and D rally in each of the five centres.

THE FIVE RALLIES

London - Friday, November 2nd, 1973

For the London meeting, the issue of plant shut-downs and de-industrialization was featured in the advertisement in the London Free Press. London has experienced complete stagnation in manufacturing jobs since 1966. American corporations have been especially responsible for this phenomenon since in 1972 there were 2,000 fewer jobs in large American-owned plants in London than there had been in 1966. Speakers at the meeting were Greg Curnoe, Jim Laxer, Cec Taylor and Mel Watkins.

One hundred and fifty people attended the meeting. Overwhelmingly, the audience was made up of working people. Over 35 people filled out forms indicating that they wished further contact with the Waffle.

A week follwing the rally, members of the provincial organization committee canvassed some of these contacts and signed up new members for the London Waffle. At the same time a plan for a series of public educationals was decided upon for the London area. Both newspaper and radio coverage were good from the London meeting.

Kitchener-Waterloo - Thursday, November 8th, 1973

Singled out at the Kitchener meeting was the issue of low wages in a period of high inflation. In the advertisement in the Kitchener-Waterloo

Record, we pointed to the fact that the Ontario government deliberately encourages the continuance of Kitchener-Waterloo as the lowest wage area in south-western Ontario.

Seventy people attended this meeting, the first public event ever held by the Waffle in the Kitchener area.

The problems of working women and the struggle of the Douglas Aircraft workers were the topics of speeches by Pauline Breen and John McLean, while Jim Laxer dealt with the future of the auto-industry in Ontario.

Brantford - Wednesday, November 14th, 1973

The developing oil crisis and its effects on jobs and cost of living was the major theme of the Brantford rally. This issue was highlighted in the advertisement in the Brantford Expositor and was the topic of a speech by John Richards, Saskatchewan Waffle MLA, who was brought in from Saskatoon for the rally.

Dave Neumann spoke on the issue of inflation and cost of living. Other speeches were by John McLean and Jim Laxer.

Fifty people attended the Brantford rally which received good newspaper coverage.

St. Catharines - Thursday, November 22nd, 1973

The oil crisis and its effects on industry in Ontario, particularly the auto industry in the Niagara Peninsula, was the topic highlighted for the St. Catharines rally.

Guest speaker, Ken Brisbois, President of the St. Catharines and District Labour Council, spoke on the future of the auto industry in Ontario. Mel Watkins spoke on the energy crisis and the need for a publicly owned oil industry, calling as a start for the nationalization of Imperial Oil.

Doris Jantzi dealt with the topic of de-industrialization in Ontario. Pauline Breen spoke on the problems of women in small plants.

Eighty-five people attended the rally which received good newspaper and radio coverage.

Hamilton - Wednesday, November 28th, 1973

Highlighted at the Hamilton meeting was the issue of the oil crisis.

The Hamilton rally developed an unexpected twist when the Hamilton

area Political Action Committee of the Steelworkers decided to sponsor a rally with Tommy Douglas on the energy crisis for the same night as the Waffle rally. The idea, aimed at shutting out the Waffle in Hamilton, was the brainchild of Bob Mackenzie, full time political action staffer for the steelworkers. The steelworkers Political Action Committee rally was heavily advertised in the Hamilton Spectator and the full time staff of the steelworkers made great efforts to mobilize the steel union's 30,000 members for the meeting, in addition to the local NDP.

One hundred and seventy people attended the Waffle rally, most of them workers, many of them steelworkers. Three hundred and fifty attended the Tommy Douglas rally.

The Waffle rally, by far the largest turnout of Hamilton workers to any Waffle event has put the Waffle on the map in working class politics in Hamilton in a way that was not true before.

At the meeting, Mel Watkins spoke on the oil crisis, while Jim Laxer dealt with the topic of de-industrialization. Bob McSevney spoke on the cost of living and the new militancy among workers. Archie Wilson related the struggles of the Douglas Aircraft workers to the meeting.

The meeting was well covered in the press and T.V.

CONCLUSION

The five Waffle R and D rallies in south-western Ontario have significantly raised the public profile of the Waffle in this vital area of the province. They had demonstrated that the Waffle and its ideas have significant drawing power for working class people in Ontario. Most of the people who attended the rallies were workers and most of them had had no contact with the Waffle prior to the meetings.

Five hundred and thirty people attended the five rallies; of these 110 filled out the contact forms expressing an interest in further contact with the Waffle; to date, 50 of these people have been visited in the follow-up efforts by the organization committee and many new memberships have been gained or are in the process of being gained.

The half-page advertisements in the local newspapers proved a uniformly reliable method of attracting large numbers of working class people to the meetings. A substantial majority of these people had had no former contact with the Waffle.

RECOMMENDATIONS

** That the Ontario Waffle continue to make the increasingly explosive issues of resources and de-industrialization a top priority.

** That the provincial standing committee on Resources and De-industrialization continue to develop its campaign on these issues.

** That top priority in the campaign continue to be directed to work in resource regions of Northern Ontario and key working class regions in Southern Ontario.

* * * * *

Submitted to the Ontario Waffle Provincial Convention by:

Co-Chairpersons:	Bonnie Brown Jim Laxer
Publicity:	Doris Jantzi Tom Sheppard
Treasurer:	Kaza Kaplan

See Financial Statement on Page 6

RESOURCES AND DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION CAMPAIGN

FINANCIAL STATEMENT - AS AT DECEMBER 5TH, 1973

Statement of Receipts:

Brantford	$ 130.50	
Hamilton (less expenses)	165.77	
Kitchener	200.00	
London	15.00	
St. Catharines	35.00	
Northern Ontario	10.00	
Ottawa	60.00	
Toronto	2,735.26	
Total Receipts		$ 3,351.53

Statement of Disbursements:

Paid for Newspaper Advertising:

London	$ 751.52	
Kitchener	431.20	
Brantford	310.50	
St. Catharines	352.80	
Hamilton	714.56	
Hamilton (second ad.)	357.28	
Total newspaper disbursement	2,917.86	
Miscellaneous printing Oct. 17/73	50.00	
Total disbursements		$ 2,967.86
Balance of cash on hand		$ 383.67

Statement of Accounts Payable:

Everready Printers Ltd.	$ 309.72	
Mailings	97.20	
Rental of OISE Room	21.50	
100 Buttons	25.00	
London Free Press for engraving prints	14.60	
Miscellaneous	5.00	
John Richards return air fare	180.00	
St. Catharines Standard	3.30	
Total Accounts Payable		$ 656.32

Statement of Reconciliation:

Total Accounts Payable	$ 656.32	
Less Balance of Cash on Hand	383.67	
Deficit		$ 272.65

Buy out Imperial Oil: Watkins

Nov 21/73

By ROBERT SUTTON
Star staff writer

MELVILLE WATKINS
$1.5 billion suggestion

Mel Watkins, a founder of the socialist-nationalist Waffle movement, wasn't a delegate at the Man and Resources Conference, but last night he had some advice for sympathizers who were.

The University of Toronto economist urged they draft a resolution asking the federal government to expropriate Imperial Oil Ltd.

Watkins told an informal gathering of 15 delegates there was a "good chance" Ottawa would establish a Canadian Petroleum Corporation as a means of coping with the energy crisis, but it would likely be "a new company that leaves existing companies in place."

That wasn't good enough, Watkins said, rejecting any suggestion that Imperial was too big to be bought out. He put the book value of Imperial at $1.5 billion.

More than 500 delegates from across Canada are attending the conference which continues until Thursday at the Inn on the Park.

There is no organized Waffle faction among the delegates but several of that persuasion decided to invite Watkins to address them privately in a hotel suite.

Watkins wasn't optimistic the four days of discussions and resolutions would produce significant results.

The average working person would be offended with this kind of conference, he said. "I have been to many as an academic and a lot of us take the position that we don't go, or if we do, we do certain thinks like set up our own separate meetings."

He told the group: "Properly, revolutionary demands can't be dealt with from within a capitalist system. People who have these concerns have to be prepared to organize around anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist banners."

Watkins pointed out that United States oil companies are demanding environmental controls be abandoned in the face of the energy crisis.

He said it is obvious that U.S. President Richard Nixon is prepared to revert to high-polluting coal or any other source to meet his announced goal of making his nation energy-sufficient.

65

Nov 22/73

Laxer says 6,000 firms could have strike violence

JAMES LAXER
"Unionists more militant"

There are almost 6,000 small factories in Metro that could face strikes with violence similar to the three-month-strike at Artistic Woodwork Co. in North York, James Laxer said yesterday.

Laxer, a political science teacher, told students attending a support rally at York University for the 115 Artistic Woodwork strikers, that many small plants in Metro are unorganized and use mostly immigrant workers.

"The trade unionists in Metro are growing more militant and the bosses are becoming more determined to smash unions and, with the police joining in on strike-breaking, there is going to be more picket line violence," Laxer predicted.

"The workers in these small plants are going to organize to protect their jobs and their dignity, and the bosses, with the backing of big business and big banks, are going to try and break them, so there are going to be more violent strikes," said Laxer, who teaches at York University's Atkinson college.

Members of the Canadian Textile and Chemical Workers Union have been on strike at the Downsview plant since Aug. 21 and there have been 111 arrests. Police are at the scene to ensure access to the plant.

Picket organizer John Langer told the students there will be mass picketing at the St. Regis Cres. plant Monday morning and asked students to attend to walk the picket line.

Most but not all picketing has been at Artistic's Densley Ave. plant.

The strikers at Artistic invite the public to a meeting at 8 p.m. today at Holy Trinity Church on Trinity Square at which spokesmen from the union, Metro and City Councils, and community groups will speak and answer questions.

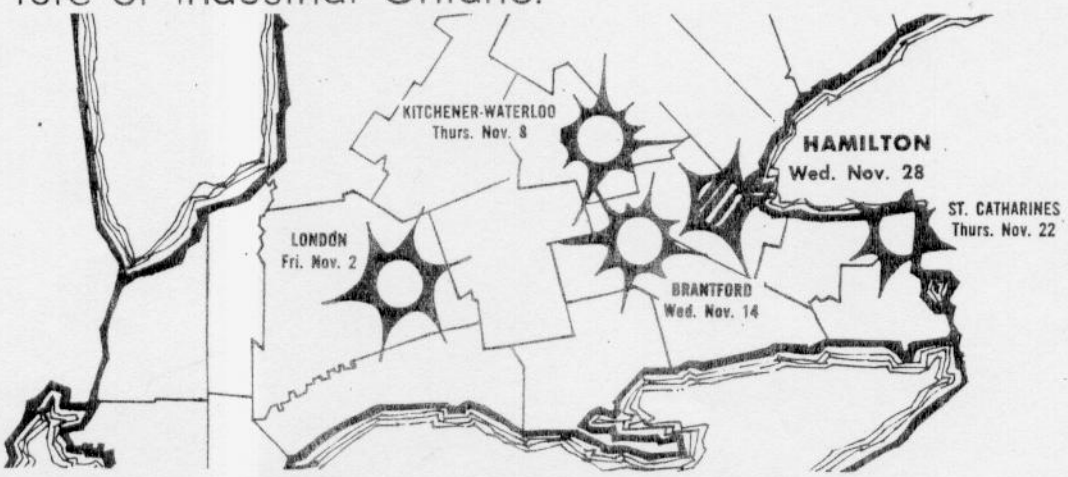
Last night, winding up a concert appearance in Toronto, Greek singer-composer Mikis Theodorakis dedicated a song "to the Greek workers at Artistic Woodwork —and to (those) who have been arrested in their struggle for justice."

The Massey Hall audience of more than 2,000 persons —mostly Greek—clapped and cheered.

Meanwhile, William H. Dickie, assistant deputy minister of labor for the province, kept negotiators in the Artistic dispute up until the late hours last night behind closed doors as the ministry's news blackout continued.

THE OIL CRISIS
Its effects on jobs and cost of living in Hamilton

The Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada presents a public forum on the future of industrial Ontario.



HAMILTON PUBLIC FORUM
Wednesday, November 28 at 8.00 p.m.
Tower Room, Roberts Restaurant

747 King St. E., near Sanford
Admission free

SPEAKERS:

Jim Laxer (author of The Energy Poker Game) "The future of manufacturing in Ontario"
Bob McSevney (Union steward in United Steelworkers Local 1005 (Stelco) "The cost of living and the new worker's militancy"
Mel Watkins (author of Watkins Report on foreign ownership) "Canada's role as a resource supplier for the United States"
Archie Wilson (Chairman of embattled negotiating committee, engaged in struggle with Douglas Aircraft, U.A.W. Local 1967) "Douglas Aircraft: a case study of U.S. ownership of Canadian industry"

Chairman: Cec Taylor (Grievance committee chairman, United Steelworkers Local 1005, Hamilton (Stelco)

for further information, call: 525-7545 or 525-7641

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF CANADA'S OIL & GAS

RESOLUTION ON ENERGY POLICY

PREAMBLE

The oil policy recently announced by the Liberal-NDP coalition in Ottawa continues the massive sellout of Canadian energy resources to the United States. This year, Canada will export 18% more oil to the United States than it did in 1972.

The continuation of a continentalist energy policy involving the export of more than half of our oil production means that the life of our conventional reserves is cut in half. This policy hastens the day when Canada will be dependent on the Alberta oil sands and the Arctic - sources of oil two and three times as costly as conventional reserves.

In spite of the extension of the Liberal-NDP price freeze on an on-again, off-again basis to the spring of 1974, Canada's continuing massive exports to the United States guarantee much higher fuel costs to Canadians, permanently.

Canadians receive few benefits from the export of our oil. The bulk of our oil production is by American corporations, and their profits flow south along with the oil. Most of the jobs created in the oil industry in Canada are short term construction jobs that disappear as soon as the pipeline or refinery is built. The huge oil corporations, despite their skyrocketing profits, pay almost no taxes. Between 1969 and 1973 - a period in which inflation has been gnawing away at the real incomes of Canadians - the American oil companies in western Canada increased their profits thirteen-fold, from $75 million to $988 million.

But the high price of petroleum products is not the only cost we suffer as a result of American ownership of the energy industry in Canada. As the United States imports more and more resources from Canada, it seeks to strengthen its trade position by selling us finished manufactured products. This means that the U.S. does not want an industrialized Canada as its northern neighbour.

A recent study by the U.S. Senate revealed that the percentage of Canadian workers employed by American-owned manufacturing companies has declined since 1966. At the same time, the U.S. multinationals have increased their share of the Canadian market. So while these companies are destroying, rather than creating, jobs, they are taking over an increasingly larger segment of the Canadian economy.

The Waffle's study of all manufacturing plants in Ontario employing 100 or more workers showed that between 1966 and 1972, Canadian-owned companies created on the average of almost three times as many jobs as American-owned companies. At the same time as the American corporations and government are pressuring us to increase our resource production for their use, they are reducing our manufacturing industries to warehouse-assembly operations.

Now the Liberal-NDP coalition in Ottawa is proposing the creation of a so-called "National Petroleum Company" (NPC). Once again, the Canadian public is being asked to foot the bill so that the American corporations can walk away with the profits. NPC, most

likely in association with the 45% government-owned Panarctic Oils Ltd., will be engaged primarily in the high-risk, high-cost end of the petroleum business - exploration and development in the Arctic and in the Athabasca tar sands. Once we have paid the tab for finding the petroleum and making it extractable, Imperial Oil, Gulf Oil and the other giant multinationals will make huge profits from the low risk business of extracting, refining and marketing oil and gas.

In the case of the Athabasca tar sands, a joint federal-provincial development is proposed. The government of Alberta has already indicated its willingness to buy into the Syncrude combine (with Imperial Oil, Gulf Oil, Atlantic Richfield and Cities Service) by abandoning its royalty claims and making the oil sands, which are the property of the people of Canada, available to the multinationals. Now the federal government is proposing, through its NPC, that the Canadian people as a whole should dip into its already depleted pockets so that the giant oil corporations can extract petroleum from the oil sands for their own private profits.

At present however it is unclear whether NPC will have sufficient funding to carry out these tasks. So we are left with a proposed national petroleum company that will either do nothing at all, because of insufficient funding, or, if enough public money is provided, will permit the continuation of a system whereby the Canadian people pay increasingly higher subsidies so that the giant multinationals can extract increasingly higher profits. Clearly, such a policy cannot be said to be in the interests of the people of Canada. The NPC is merely a token gesture in the direction of the demands of Canadians for nationalization of the energy industries - but it is a gesture which may well prove to be an even greater liability to the Canadian public than earlier examples of the government's continentalist energy policy.

The Conservative Party has become the mouthpiece for the Calgary offices of the American oil companies. The Liberals, with the NDP hanging desperately onto their coat-tails, have proposed a policy that leaves Canadian energy resources in the hands of the foreign corporations. The continuing high rate of export to the U.S. guarantees that the Canadian government will proceed with petroleum developments in the Arctic, reaping environmental destruction, betrayal of the rights of Canada's native peoples, and an utterly distorted set of investment priorities in the Canadian economy.

Canada needs an alternative energy policy: a socialist policy that will bring about full public ownership of all energy resource industries in Canada, halt the export of oil and natural gas to the United States, use Canadian energy resources to benefit Canadians as a basis from which to develop primary and secondary industry in Canada, and safeguard the Canadian environment and the rights of native peoples.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

The Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada adopt an energy policy that provides for:

1. the cessation of all exports of oil and natural gas to the United States.

2. the nationalization of all exploration, development,

extraction, production, distribution and marketing of oil, natural gas, coal and uranium in Canada.

3. the recognition that the extensive history of the private energy corporations with respect to exportation of jobs, exorbitant prices, huge profits and minimal tax payments precludes the necessity for compensation when these corporations are taken under public ownership and control. The people of Canada have paid for these corporations many times over already.

Respectfully submitted to the December 1973 Convention of the Ontario Waffle by the East Metro Waffle Group.

Education Policy Resolution

Submitted by the Provincial Educational Committee

1. Socialist education is recognized as an essential part of the political activity of the Ontario Waffle. Our efforts to build the struggle of Canadian workers for independence and socialism cannot be based on guesswork or improvisation. Instead, the Waffle must study the Canadian political economy from a socialist viewpoint, and learn from the history of working people's struggles throughout the world. In this attempt, the educational work of the Waffle has two goals. The first is to develop anti-imperialist and socialist consciousness in the working class. Second, socialist education must try to develop the ability of the largest possible number of Wafflers to make sound decisions on questions of strategy and organization.

   The importance of socialist education to the Waffle contrasts with liberal social democratic organizations such as the NDP. Although it claims to be 'pragmatic' or 'non-ideological', social democracy is in reality based on the middle class doctrine that there is no fundamental conflict of interest between workers and employers. By denying the value of socialist analysis and education, the NDP avoids confronting capitalism as a system based on exploitation; consequently the NDP cannot understand imperialism or identify American corporate capitalism as the main enemy of Canadian working people. This is the theoretical basis of the NDP's social democratic approach, which attempts to gradually reform the most glaring excesses of a few 'corporate welfare bums', while leaving untouched the basic exploitation of our working people as Canadians and as wage labourers.

2. The ultimate fate of the Waffle depends on the development of a socialist base in the working class. The failure of previous socialist organizations is due to several related factors. (1) The past political leadership of the working class has retarded the development of a socialist analysis among Canadian workers. The party which dominates the working class movement - the NDP - has a liberal pragmatic ideology which dismisses theory and downgrades educational work aimed at sharpening class struggle. In addition, the Communist Party has been discredited and isolated from the main body of Canadian workers for many years, because of its failure to develop its policies independent of Soviet influence. (2) The apparent ability of Canadian and American branch plant capitalism to expand to meet the growing demands of Canadian workers in the 1950's and early 1960's. (3) The domination of the trade union movement by business unionism - particularly American business unions - has meant that unions have done little work aimed at building class consciousness. (4) In addition, Canadian media, education and culture are dominated by liberal ideology which obscures Canada's domination by the American empire.

Public education aimed at promoting socialist analysis will play a major role in reaching more and more workers. Such public education will be especially important in the next few years as the Waffle develops its programmes and organization. Further, the resistance of Canadian workers to US imperialism has not yet reached the stage of widespread political struggle around such demands as the complete nationalization of energy industries. The intensifying rivalry between American, German and Japanese corporations and the resulting pressure to reduce Canada to a resource colony for American corporations is not yet experienced as a social and political crisis by Canadian working people. There is already, however, widespread response of Canadian working people in the growth of nationalist sentiment. The political education programmes of the Waffle can lay the groundwork for future nationalist struggles by showing that imperialism is the cause of oppression of Canadian workers. At the same time, public education will recruit new members and build the organization.

For these reasons the Ontario Waffle recognizes the following as priority areas for public education in 1973-74:

I. Publications

i. Publications of additional books such as Canada Ltd.

ii. Publication of pamphlets on specific topics.

iii. Encouraging the publication of an Ontario magazine.

II. Public Educationals

i. One-night meetings.

ii. Longer educational series throughout the Province.

III. Trade Union Educational Programmes

i. Courses or schools for trade unionists to be developed in conjunction with the Labour Committee.

3. Every gathering of the Waffle should have an educational component. The local group meetings, where Wafflers get together regularly, should be seen as the most important forum for education and their agendas should reflect this. The educational section of each meeting should have two purposes; to develop and deepen understanding of our position as socialists, and to encourage the participation of as many Wafflers as possible.

While the group may want to bring in a speaker with particular expertise on the subject under discussion, every effort should be made to develop many more Wafflers as spokespersons for the movement.

In all its educational work, both public and internal, the Waffle must strive to present its analysis of the Canadian situation in a creative and concrete way so that people will see the immediate implications for their lives of our socialist theories. As this understanding deepens, many Wafflers may want to delve further into the study of socialist theories and the education committee should be prepared to make available reading lists and suggestions for group study to local executives.

Our aim then, is an educated and active Waffle membership, able to take part in all levels of debate and decision-making both within the Waffle and outside, for it is clear that if the socialist movement is to grow in Canada, it will require strong leadership in all areas of daily life and particularly within the trade union movement. The Waffle must play an active role in helping meet that need.

The following are recognized as priority areas for internal education in the Ontario Waffle in 1973-74:

I. Local

i. The educational part of local group meetings is a vital part of socialist education within the Ontario Waffle. The Provincial Educational Committee recommends that every local group meeting include a major educational component.

ii. Local study and reading groups. The Provincial Educational Committee offers to help set up such groups if required.

II. Provincial

i. Weekend seminars and workshops.

ii. Publication of ADVANCE.

iii. Consideration of Waffle summer school.

* * * * * * *

Major Educational Activities Undertaken in the Last Year
(not necessarily organized by the Provincial Educational Committee)

Provincial Meetings

1. Weekend seminar on a socialist approach to the study of Canadian history with guest speakers Stanley Ryerson and Tom Naylor (January 1973).

2. Weekend Conference on the Trade Union movement in Canada (March 1973).

3. Weekend seminar on the State and Socialist Strategy (June 1973).

4. 22/3 Sept. 73, Joint Meeting of Provincial Committees in London. On the Saturday, papers on the Deindustrialization Research, Inflation, and the need for working people to demand a higher share of the National Income were presented. On the Sunday it was agreed that educational meetings would constitute an important part of the campaign to build the Waffle in SW Ontario.

5. Meeting organized jointly with the Latin American Working Group on The Struggle of the Chilean People. (September 30, 1973).

6. The next weekend seminar is planned for the 16 and 17 February 1974 on Culture, Independence and Socialism, and will include papers on various aspects of Canadian culture and the importance of cultural questions to the national struggle.

7. The next meeting of the Provincial Educational Committee will be on January 20, 1974 in London.

Local Meetings (not a comprehensive list)

1. Brantford - Public educational series held.

2. Ottawa - Two educational series held.

3. West Metro - Internal educational series on the Labour movement (4 meetings).

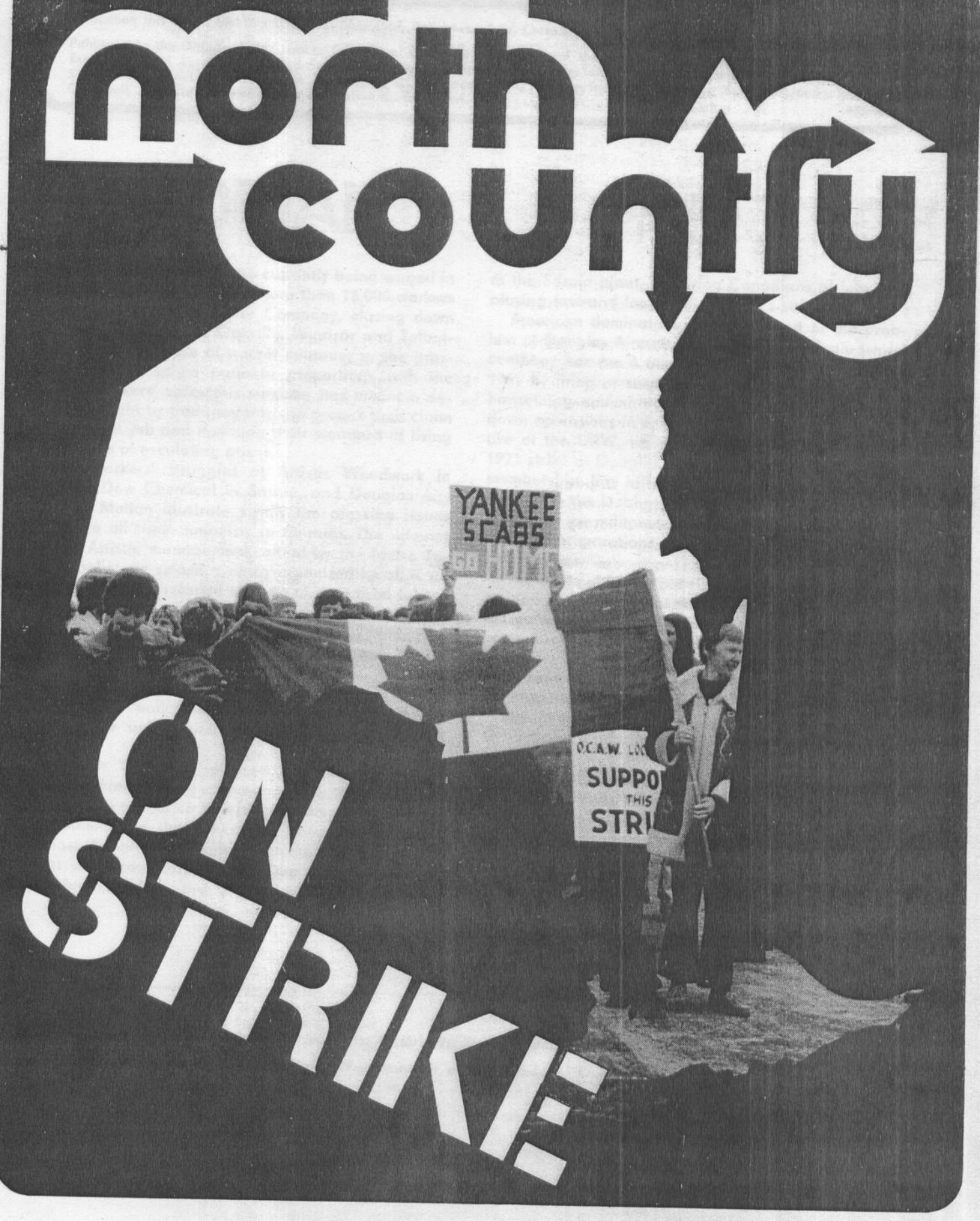
4. North Metro - Internal study group met during May and June.

5. Toronto - Three lecture series have been held and a fourth, on mainly economic questions, is planned to start in February. An internal study group on the theme 'An Introduction to Socialism' was also organized.

6. The Toronto Waffle Women's Group held a two-day conference on Women's Liberation and Socialism in October.

7. The five centres where rallies were held as part of the SW Ontario campaign (London, Hamilton, Kitchener-Waterloo, Brantford, St. Catharines) all plan to hold educational meetings in January. London plans a five week lecture series beginning January 20th.

north country



ON STRIKE

Production this issue: Mel Watkins, Tom Sheppard, Bob Laxer, Paul Craven, Kaza Kaplan, Pat Kay.

Published by the Ontario Waffle Labour Committee: Cec Taylor, Chairman of the Grievance Committee and Member of the Executive Board, Local 1005, United Steelworkers; Bonnie Benedik, nurse in a Toronto hospital; Sam Sharpe, Secretary of the Sarnia and District Labour Council, member of OCAW Local 9-672; Pauline Breen, worker in a Kitchener food plant; Al Campbell, organizer, Service Employees' International Union.

EDITORIAL

More than fifty strikes are currently being waged in Ontario. As we go to press, more than 15,000 workers have struck the Ford Motor Company, closing down all Ford production at Oakville, Windsor and Talbotville. The rising wave of worker militancy in the province, which reached national proportions with the railway workers' strike this summer, has meant a determined fight by trade unionists to protect their claim to a decent job and maintain their standard of living in the face of escalating prices.

The workers' struggles at Artistic Woodwork in Toronto, Dow Chemical in Sarnia, and Douglas Aircraft in Malton illustrate vividly the pressing issues that face all trade unionists in Ontario. The attempt by the Artistic management, aided by the Metro Toronto police to smash a newly-organized local, is all too familiar. The massive support of organized labour —already shown to a degree by the presence of many trade unionists, including OFL Convention delegates, on the picket line—is sorely needed, not only to win this particular strike, but to ensure that efforts to extend trade unionism to immigrant workers in the small plants and sweatshops are not defeated by busting the union when it attempts to get its first contract.

At Dow Chemical, we see a similar pattern of strikebreaking by the company, this time with the help of a sweeping court injunction aimed at blocking any attempt by the workers to enforce their strike against the infamously anti-union management of this giant American corporation. Dow has been using strikebreakers from the U.S. to maintain production at the Sarnia plant, depriving Canadians of jobs and playing fast-and-loose with people's safety.

American domination is a major part of the problem at Douglas Aircraft as well. The American-owned company has been attempting to smash UAW Local 1967 by firing or suspending the local executive and bargaining committee, and by threatening to close down operations in Canada. The International Executive of the UAW, which forced the settlement of the 1971 strike at Douglas against the wishes of the local membership, has failed to give strong and consistent support to the local union. Now the company is trying to destroy the militancy of the local membership in the midst of preparations for the next round of contract negotiations.

The rights of immigrant workers, the right to organize, the use of police as strikebreakers, the repressive labour laws of Ontario, the arrogance of American companies — these are the tough problems which Ontario trade unionists are now facing. The labour movement has so far been slow to mobilize rank and file membership in support of these struggles.

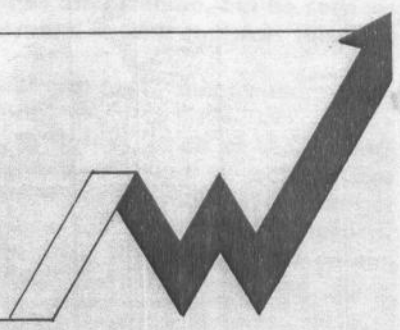
The Waffle Labour Committee, aware that only through the solidarity of all organized workers can we win present struggles and work to build an independent socialist Canada, has prepared this publication. It is being circulated widely in the trade union movement, so that workers all across Ontario can unite to support the struggles of our brothers and sisters at Dow, at Douglas, and at Artistic.

For if they lose, no union in Ontario is safe.

Are you interested in:

- more information on the activities of the Ontario Waffle Labour Committee?
- membership in the Ontario Waffle Movement for an Independent Socialist Canada?
- subscribing to a new magazine featuring regular coverage of the labour movement, politics, and all issues of concern to Ontario working people?

Write Us: Ontario Waffle, P.O. Box 339, Station E, Toronto.



ON STRIKE AT DOW CANADA LTD.

By ROB ALBRITTON and GLEN WILLIAMS

The prosperous industrial community of Sarnia is the scene of a bitter struggle for workers' rights against a union-busting U.S. corporation, Dow Chemical.

The corporation is receiving assistance from the Canadian state in the form of a court injunction which limits picketing to three workers at each of three gates.

Dow's main gate in Sarnia is dominated by a huge sign proclaiming the company slogan "Life is Fragile —Handle with Care." A more inappropriate slogan for this corporation is difficult to imagine.

Dow Canada is a wholly owned subsidiary of Dow Chemical Company Inc. of Delaware. Dow Inc. is one of the top five U.S. chemical companies with sales totalling almost 2.5 billion dollars in 1972.

Canadian operations at Dow's Sarnia plant were started in 1942 in order to exploit the immense salt

Strikers' wives march to support Dow workers' struggle.

resources of the area. Dow has expanded rapidly in Canada acquiring small chemical plants across the country. Dow now has 12 production plants in four provinces.

Before 1966, Dow Canada was more interested in exporting its products than the usual U.S. branch plant in Canada. However ,a company re-organization in that year forced Dow Canada's share of the U.S. parent's total exports down to 6.4% in 1972 from 9% in 1965. This has meant a loss of potential jobs for Canadian workers.

Many people remember Dow Chemical's notorious production of napalm for the U.S. war machine in Viet Nam. Defending the manufacture of this barbarous weapon, Dow's president stated that his company had "made a moral judgment on the long range goals of the U.S. government." Apparently, U.S. profit is more important than human life.

The same super-greed for profits and contemptuous disregard for human life are reflected in Dow's operations in Sarnia. During 1970, the jobs of 3,000 Canadian fishermen and fish processors were directly threatened by a government ban on the sale of fish from the Lake St. Clair area.

Dow had dumped over 100 tons of poisonous mercury into the St. Clair River rather than go to the expense of properly disposing of these waste materials.

It was later revealed that more than mercury was being dumped by Dow. An investigation by the Ontario Water Resources Commission found that Dow Canada was dumping the following noxious substances into the St. Clair River every day: 2.1 million pounds of chlorides, 97 thousand pounds of suspended solids, especially calcium, and 297 thousand pounds of oxygen demand materials.

Instead of an immediate demand for the nationalization of this corporate polluter, our government was content to launch a 25 million dollar damage suit against this giant corporation which had operating profits of 358 million dollars last year. The suit is still in the courts and in the meantime the government has given Dow 25 million dollars to foot part of the bill to reduce pollution.

UNION-BUSTING

Since the late 1960's Dow has been on a union-busting campaign in all of its North American plants.

In its efforts to increase profits, Dow Chemical has attempted to shift as many of its operations as possible from union operations to salaried operations. In a salaried operation there are fewer employees, who receive higher pay for doing more work.

The reason that salaried operations are more profitable is that the higher pay is more than offset by fewer employees and higher productivity per employee.

Basic to the salaried operation is "job enlargement" and "the whole man concept."

Job enlargement means that each worker does many jobs instead of one. Thus, for example, the worker not only operates the machine, but he services it, sweeps the floor around it, and replaces the light bulb overhead.

But "the whole man concept" means more than simply job enlargement.

In the words of E. B. Barnes, head of U.S. operations, "In negotiating with a union we contract for only a limited part of a man's potential. We often get less than we bargained for . . ." Dow Chemical International does not want to bargain with unions for part of a man's potential; they want the whole man!

Barnes calls for a return of the barn-raising spirit of pioneer America in his plants. He gloats that

Canada Ltd.

Oh Canada
When will you see
Your Yankee neighbours
Covet Thee
Your rich resources they have raped
Your industries
In their flag draped

The profits which your workers made
Were taken far across the sea
New plants were built
More profits made
By workers, just like we

Your politicians turn their heads
While U.S. princes share their beds
But come the morning you will find
Your independence far behind

(from the "Other View" strike newspaper of OCAW Local 9-672)

pioneer farmers "received no pay. They worked very hard. There was a social aspect to such events that was fun . . ."

Lest we get the idea that Dow is anti-union, Barnes reassures us that Dow is "not anti-union, but pro-company."

In the past two years Dow International has managed seven union decertifications in its drive to develop salaried operations. The current lock-out of the 800 Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) at the Sarnia plant appears to be another episode in Dow's union-busting campaign.

The anti-union strategy of Dow Canada started several years ago with the gradual replacement of Canadian management with tough new American managers typified by Clyde Boyd. At present all top management positions but one are filled with Americans.

A second step in the strategy was to expand the number of salaried workers and to prepare wage workers to become salaried workers by a program of job enlargement or trades amalgamation. At the present time about half of Dow's employees are salaried, and are therefor outside of the union's jurisdiction.

The management seemed to think that only a few union militants stood in the way of getting rid of the OCAW. By forcing a strike they hoped to split the membership away for its leaders as a step in breaking the union. This strategy has clearly failed.

LOCK-OUT

After several months of standstill in negotiating for a new contract, it became apparent that the company was not bargaining in good faith.

The union applied to the Ontario Department of Labour, hoping that a government conciliator might encourage Dow to take the bargaining seriously. The union made a number of compromises in its demands in order to avert a strike, but the company did not respond.

According to Ivan Hillier, president of Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 9-672: "In the last few meetings with Dow the Union bargaining committee moved significantly on several monetary items, the company moved on none. We moved to the point that we felt that we went really farther than our membership thought we should and in so doing we came very close to the point that by moving any more, the contract would not be ratified by our members."

The Union served notice on Dow that they would be officially on strike at one minute after midnight Friday night, October 13. The Company ordered all union workers off Dow property four hours before the strike was to begin.

One of the reasons given by management for this illegal lockout was that by jumping the gun on the Union, the Company prevented sabotage. A company fearful of possible sabotage from its own workers is a long way from the one happy family image of the salaried operation.

As further evidence of the lack of good faith in dealing with the Union, the Dow Company has by-passed the bargaining committee and appealed directly to the union membership. The Company has sent out letters to each worker urging a return to work on terms offered by management.

A DANGEROUS OPERATION

Dow Canada has continued to operate despite the strike of 800 skilled workers. The plant is surrounded by a barbed-wire fence patrolled by around 100

Wackenhut rent-a-cops.

The Company has managed to get an injunction forbidding the Union to interfere with Company business in any way and limiting picket lines to three workers at each gate.

The Company has offered scabs as much as $2,000 a week, but as a result of worker solidarity in Sarnia there have been no takers.

In order to keep the plant running there is evidence that American personnel and supplies have been brought in at night by helicopter and by boat across the St. Clair River. In addition, salaried employees have been forced to work 12-14 hour shifts and to sleep in the plant.

Even under the best of conditions the plant is extremely dangerous. It has had frequent and severe industrial accidents. Last June, a fire in the Polyethelene unit caused one death and sent three workers to intensive care at Sarnia General Hospital.

Now 800 salaried employees are being forced to do not only their own jobs but the jobs of the 800 highly skilled workers on strike — all this under the stress of 14 hour shifts. They are working with highly toxic, volatile, and caustic chemicals. The lives of the workers are in danger and the entire community is threatened.

THE STATE SUPPORTS MANAGEMENT

The Court Injunction against picketing is a very effective strike-breaking weapon. The ease with which injunctions have been granted in recent years demonstrates the extent to which the courts and the law are pro-management and anti-labour.

Usually injunctions against picketing are granted only after considerable violence or property damage; yet the Company was granted a sweeping injunction just three days after the strike began.

The union is allowed three pickets at each gate and it is not allowed to interfere with the flow of goods into the plant or from the plant to its customers. In short, the union is allowed to strike only in name.

Dow Chemical's operations extend around the world. How is a Canadian local to exert pressure on this giant multinational corporation if the courts impose an injunction forbidding effective picketing? It is clear that Dow is being significantly aided in its union-busting strategy by the courts.

WORKER SOLIDARITY

Many of the workers at Dow are young and have never been on strike before, yet they have already established amongst themselves the kind of solidarity and militancy that it takes to win this kind of struggle.

Ivan Hillier, the president of the local, grew up in Cape Breton during the miners' strike and was involved in the Hamilton steel strike in 1946. He is an experienced and militant union leader and has the complete 100% support of the membership.

The union has helped many workers get temporary jobs to tide them through the strike, and those with jobs have agreed to contribute 10% of their wages to the strike fund. The union is prepared for a long hard fight.

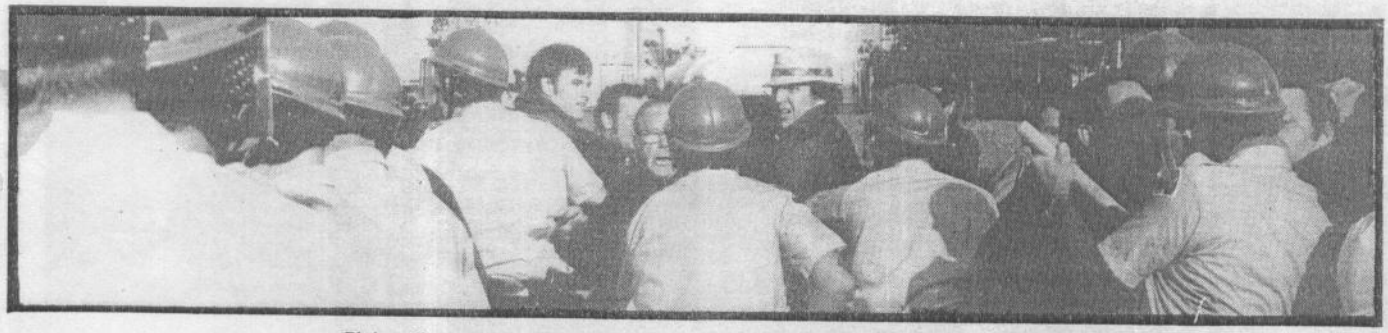
Solidarity has spread from the striking workers as other unions have offered support. The OCAW local at Polysar has doubled its union dues and is now contributing $21,000 a month to the strike support fund. The Pulp and Paper workers at the Dow plant in Ladner, British Columbia, are contributing a portion of their wages to the strike support fund. The Sarnia and District Labour Council is helping mobolize the entire labour movement behind the strikers. As a result the local building trades are turning down very lucrative wages in support of the picket lines.

WOMEN'S STRIKE SUPPORT

The wives of striking workers have displayed considerable resourcefulness and militancy in supporting the strike. The 300 women who showed up at the first women's meeting decided to establish a Women's Strike Support Committee. They set up a telephone network for rapid mobilization .They have held two parades demonstrating their support of the strike. They have launched letter writing campaigns to publicize the danger posed to the community by the continued operation of the plant and to protest the use of American scabs. They are establishing day care services ,clothing exchanges and various other self-help services. Some of the women work on "The Other View", the strike newspaper started by the union. Others work on the daily strike bulletin which has been so important in building solidarity. Many women have also walked on the picket lines.

AN IMPORTANT STRUGGLE

The strike at Dow is important to all workers in Canada. There are many issues involving in the strike, but one issue stands out—the issue of union-busting. If Dow Chemical can bust an 800 man local with experienced and militant leadership, then in the long-run no trade unionist in Canada is safe.



Picket line action in front of Dow Chemical's Sarnia plant.

ARTISTIC STRIKERS FIGHT ON

By DAVID McNALLY

"I've seen more brutality here than I saw in France in 1918." William Temple, the 75-year-old former MPP and veteran of two world wars was talking about the strike at Artistic Woodwork. The strike has been marked by violence and the arrest of over 100 strikers and supporters, which Temple describes as a "disgrace to Toronto." Shortly after making this statement, Temple himself was arrested on the picket line.

The main issue in the Artistic strike, now entering its fourth month, is not wages but workers' rights. The workers, mostly immigrants newly organized by the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union (CTCU), a CCU affliate, are striking for a first contract.

After agreeing to a wage increase of 65¢ over two years, the Artistic management refused to accept the union's demand for seniority rights and union security. They insisted on a management rights clause which would deny workers even the most elementary right to grieve against unfair or arbitrary treatment.

Following three long months of negotiation, conciliation and mediation, the company broke off discussion and the union struck the plant. Recently, negotiations resumed after the Minister of Labour belatedly intervened. While numerous areas of disagreement have been settled, the company now refuses to take back those workers who have been arrested on the picket line. So the strike goes on.

POLICE BRUTALITY

The Artistic Woodwork strike has become one of the most militant struggles in recent Toronto labour history. As many as 150 Metro Toronto police have been stationed at the picket line, often outnumbering the picketers. The police have been brutally breaking the line to bring carloads of scabs into the struck plant. Several picketers, including Madeleine Parent, secretary-treasurer of the CTCU, have been knocked down by scab cars entering the plant. Dozens of picketers have been injured, and several have required hospitalization.

Strikers and supporters clash with police on Artistic picketline.

The strike has drawn wide support from the Ontario Waffle, immigrant organizations, students and other concerned citizens, several Toronto aldermen, and many union locals, including Steelworkers, UE, UAW, Teamsters, CUPE, CBRT, Bricklayers and Masons Independent Union of Canada, and the Canadian Union of Postal Workers.

On November 12, when many OFL Convention delegates joined the picket line, swelling the number of picketers to 400, the Toronto City Executive was forced to call on the Ontario Minister of Labour to intervene and try to settle the strike. Unfortunately, the OFL Convention itself failed to come out in support of the Artistic strike.

Artistic Woodwork, Canada's largest producer of picture frames, is one of nearly 6,000 small Toronto plants employing between 40 and 200 workers at two to three dollars an hour. Most of these plants employ immigrant workers under sweatshop conditions, and most are not organized.

The issues involved in the Artistic strike are vital to all these workers, and to the Ontario labour movement as a whole. They include the right to organize, the right to conduct a peaceful picket line free from police interference, and the right to equality for immigrant workers.

The struggle of the Artistic workers is the fight of all workers in small plants to achieve dignity and a living wage.

ANTI-UNION TACTICS AT DOUGLAS

By JAMES LITTLETON

One of the largest industrial union locals in Southern Ontario has been fighting a battle for its life through most of this fall. At the sprawling Malton plant of Douglas Aircraft of Canada in early October the leadership and members of U.A.W. Local 1967 received one of the most vicious attacks any union in Canada has suffered in a long time. The bargaining committee, now famous as the "Douglas 5", was fired. The executive board was suspended indefinitely. Nearly four hundred other workers, including almost the entire steward body and numerous committee men were made the victims of disciplinary action in the form of suspensions for varying lengths of time.

In the tense days that followed, workers were repeatedly warned over the Douglas loud-speaker system that any further unrest would result in the entire operation, which employs about 5,000 people, being closed down and moved to the United States.

The immediate cause of the assault on the union was the solidarity shown for three members of the local who were suspended after appearing on the picket line at the strikebound Artistic Woodwork Company. This disciplinary action was followed by several hundred workers calling in sick a few days later, which in turn led to the massive firings and suspensions. In the words of Archie Wilson, the militant plant chairman and leader of the fired bargaining committee, the company's aim "is not just to defeat the union, but to annihilate it." U.A.W. International Vice-President and Canadian Director, Dennis McDermott, commented on the company's actions, "I suspect there's something more behind it."

McDermott could be right. Douglas Canada, which manufactures wing assemblies and other components for its U.S. parent, McDonnell Douglas Corporations' DC9 and DC10 commercial jet aircraft, has been the scene of intense management-worker friction for the past two years.

1971 STRIKE

In 1971 the U.A.W., along with the I.A.M., was conducting contract negotiations for the approximately 250,000 aerospace workers in North America. The U.A.W. strategy was to try to "track" the same contract that had been achieved in the auto industry through a previous settlement with General Motors.

On October 13, 1971, the Douglas workers went on strike, the only U.A.W. aerospace local to do so in that year. The strategy of the international apparently was to win a pattern settlement through Local 1967 and thereby avoid the necessity of its American members striking. The problem arose when the membership of Local 1967 refused to accept the offer being

Archie Wilson, fired Bargaining Committee Chairman.

made by Douglas by a 2,000 to 1,000 secret ballot vote. In the summer of 1971, U.S. President Nixon had announced his new economic policies, including wage guidelines so that any substantial wage gains made in new contracts in the United States would be subject to review and possible rejection by the recently established Pay Board. Canadian workers had no such controls to fear. When the strike at Malton continued, however, American aerospace workers were affected. McDonnell Douglas began layoffs at its California plants, and the U.A.W. international leadership decided that it would have to end the Malton strike.

On December 11, 1971, the Local 1967 bargaining committee was summoned to a special session of the U.A.W. international executive board at Solidarity House in Detroit. Article 50, Section 5, of the U.A.W. international constitution was invoked. It states that "Whenever the international executive board decides that it is unwise to longer continue an existing strike, it will order all members of local unions who have ceased work in connection therewith, to resume work and thereupon and thereafter all assistance from the international union shall cease."

The Canadian Douglas workers were ordered back to work by the International. It was subsequently contended by right-wing elements in the union that it had been necessary for the Detroit headquarters to intervene in order to save the majority of the membership from its strike-happy local leadership. But the fact that the majority of the membership was solidly behind the strike action was proved by two subsequent events. Five months after the strike, Archie Wilson was re-elected with a majorty of 600 votes as Plant Chairman. A year after that, Local President Tom Johnston and his supporters who had been in favour of the return to work were soundly defeated by Jack Kirkby and the group who had been in the leadership of the strike.

At the end of the meeting in Solidarity House, Archie Wilson seemed to have a portent of things to come when he commented to International President Leonard Woodcock, "I would like to say one last thing, Leonard. We are going back very reluctantly, with our tails between our legs, and I think this company is going to take advantage of us. And I hope the International is prepared to have a good look at this when we're in there. I know what's going to happen."

To which President Woodcock replied, "We will try

to prevent it. That is not the purpose of this action, to allow people to be victimized."

That notwithstanding, people have been victimized. R. D. Richmond, the president of Douglas Aircraft of Canada, has a history of rough dealings with unions. Before taking over at Douglas in 1970, he was a senior executive at United Aircraft of Canada in Longeuil, Quebec. His record of harassment of the union there is similar in its viciousness to what he has accomplished with Local 1967. In the past two years hundreds of grievances have piled up. $300,000.00 accumulated in a special fund to provide reclassification adjustments for workers affected by technological change has not been distributed, and over seventy union officers have been suspended or fired. Archie Wilson had himself been suspended three times and fired and reinstated once before the latest crisis began.

THREATS

The threat of massive layoffs by the company or the shutdown of the entire Canadian operation has hung over the heads of the Douglas Canada workers. The situation made front page headlines when on August 2, 1972 the head office in St. Louis announced that 1,800 Canadian workers would be laid off because the parent company had lost a U.S. government space contract. In fact the Malton operation has nothing to do with the space program, and the announcement was a bluff.

The planting of fears about moving the Malton operation to the U.S. has not come only from the company. During the Solidarity House confrontation in 1971, Dennis McDermott said, ". . . if the circumstances continue as they are now, then there is every incentive for the company not to stay where they are. As a matter of fact, there is every incentive for them to proceed elsewhere. You can't get much farther away from Long Beach, California, than Toronto, Ontario."

During the fall of 1973, the Local 1967 workers have been bombarded with threats of either pulling in their horns or losing their jobs to the Americans. Meanwhile, Douglas is one of four corporations competing for the largest military contract that the government of Canada has let in the past twenty years. The program is for a new Long Range Patrol Aircraft (LRPA) to replace the aging Canadair Argus fleet, and it is estimated to be worth about one billion dollars. The competitors are the U.S.-based Boeing and Lockheed Corporations and British Hawker Siddeley. Minister of National Defence James Richardson announced in 1972 that whoever won the contract, at least half of the total value would have to be produced in Canada. Of course it would be impossible for Douglas to pull out and have any chance of landing this lucrative piece of business. Air Canada operates one of the largest DC8 and DC9 fleets in the world, and one of the conditions of its purchase was that DC9 components be manufactured at Malton. And the current popularity of the DC10 with the world's airlines would make the disruption that would be caused by moving the production of DC10 wings to Long Beach a costly and unpleasant prospect for the company.

INTERNATIONAL'S RESPONSE

The present crisis at Local 1967 shows no sign as yet of being resolved. Right after the dismissals and suspensions, the local bargaining committee and executive appealed to the international office by telegram requesting an immediate meeting with the International Executive Board. The response of the international president was:

> "Re your telegram, there is no International Executive Board meeting scheduled in the near future and in any event, local union should work with the regional office in following the grievance procedure under the union company agreement to resolve matters.
>
> Signed Leonard Woodcock
> President, International Union U.A.W."

The unconcerned tone of the reply stands in sharp contrast to the speed with which the bargaining committee was summoned to the special session of the International Executive Board at Solidarity House in 1971. That meeting had taken less than 24 hours to arrange after the proposals for settlement of the strike by the International had been rejected by Local 1967.

Douglas Canada has embarked on a vicious attempt to smash a militant local union. On Thanksgiving weekend the union held a membership meeting at which Archie Wilson received an ear-splitting five-minute standing ovation from the 2,000 workers, most of whom would surely have preferred to spend their Sunday morning in more pleasant ways. The fired bargaining committee and suspended executive board received a unanimous vote of confidence. On October 12, Dennis McDermott met with company officials to discuss the matter, but no change in their hard line toward the militant leaders resulted. The company refused to meet in the presence of the elected bargaining committee and stuck to its position that a new bargaining committee must be formed. The logic of this, of course, is that the company would then be able to dismiss elected leadership any time it would wish to do so and replace it with leadership of its own choice.

At the November convention of the Ontario Federation of Labour, a plea to delegates by Local President Jack Kirkby was finally allowed after two days of delays, and unanimous if vague support was given.

Meanwhile, the leaders of Local 1967 are still out of the plant and out of their jobs. Harassment and intimidation have continued in the form of unfounded allegations, as well as divisive and stand-pat tactics on the part of some members of the local union, and outlandish stories in some local right-wing newspapers.

The vast majority of the membership of Local 1967, however, understands that this attack on its leadership cannot be tolerated, for it can only result in the destruction of their union. It is essential for all Canadian workers to realize that the assault on Local 1967, if successful, may result in every company finding the door wide open for it to destroy even the largest and most powerful union.

I.ABOUR STRUCTURE AND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CHANGE (Found in 1973)

Since its formation, the Waffle has been preoccupied with how to establish contact and build cooperation with organized and unorganized workers. The reasons this cooperation is necessary are explained in "A socialist Programme for Trade Unionists." This paper's aim is to expalin the difficulty in implementing that socialist programme.

Before we ask ourselves how we can work with the labour movement, we should ask, is there a labour movement in Canada?. There are labour organizations, of course, everywhere in Canada. If, for that reason, there is a labour movement, we can ask, what kind of labour movement is it?

Historically, workers were forced to organize to defend themselves from the prerogatives of the boss. The organizations these workers formed reflect the political and economic context in which the workers organized. There is no recognition of a worker's "right to work." In a country where master-slave relationships are taken for granted in the workplace, it is not surprising that workers' organizations will grow along that same concept.

Thinking about trade unions is often clouded by two prevalent myths: one, that if the union doesn't exist there is no protection against the directives of employers; and two, the existence of unions has raised the standard of living by bargaining for higher wages and improved working conditions, such as fringe benefits.

To be honest, it was not unions that raised the standard of living, it was workers with the earnings. In a free-market economy, their wages were a prerequisite for that economy to run.

Although unions in Canada have made significant breakthroughs in welfare programmes for their members, compared with the generally higher standard of fringe benefit programmes negotiated in many European countries, unions on this continent slowed down the advent of some fringe benefits. (The first medicare scheme was introduced in 1888 in Germany by Bismarck. The major welfare programmes trickling down to workers in North America only today were a reality by 1936 in Europe).

Another myth is that labour organizations represent the interests of the worker. At best, to be precise, unions represent the interest of the citizen for that part of his or her life spent at the place of employment. Unions accepted, generally, the role as bargaining agent in the economic situation of each employer, bargaining the best deal they could from each company. Like companies, they worked outside the shop in self-congratulatory ways, such as at conventions, where rhetoric is used to reflect a favourable image to the public and to themselves.

So there really is no labour "movement" in Canada, but there are labour organizations comparable to corporations in that all power rests in the peaks of the strucuture. Today's labour leaders use the political immaturity of union members to stay in power, keeping workers divided into "autonomous" locals that cannot bind together their power. The structure of the local union in the only valid one for organizing workers. But labour's penchant for chartering new locals keeps workers out of touch from one another. The status quo is easier to maintain in the balkanization of isolated entities. The lack of a labour press or other effective means of communicating and making the workers feel part of the labour movement means the worker's most dependable attachment is to the employer and the employer's interests.

Reform of the labour movement is impossible if one tries to work within such a system, fragmented as it is so that competent organizng efforts will be predictably frustrated.

For these workers, a political party should be a central, unifying element, a source of comfort and identification. Change can only come when such a centre outside the labour movement attracts the attention and wins the confidence of rank and file unionists. Presenting feasible, clear-cut pictures of how workers can use their own structures to win control of their lives means knowing more about labour organizations, why they are weak and how they can become stronger.

What would the "ideal" labour structure look like? Instead of dozens of unions, there should be fewer. These should not be just more super-unions, wall-to-wall in one big company, but true industrial unions embracing all the workers in one industry. This would faciliate industry-wide bargaining, enabling negotiators to create floor wages and basic conditiosn as stepping stones to flattening wage differentials and equitably distributing profits. Streamlining union structures not only makes bargaining more effective, but also less expensive. In Ontario approximately 3,000 collective agreements expire every year. The cost of negotiating these piecemeal, company by company, local union by local union, is enormous. Eliminating the staggering costs of admiistering so many locals and negotiating a myriad of contracts frees money for other purposes. Ideally, an entire new layer of organization could be created with these funds. The province could be divided into 117 labour centres, that would work with the riding associations in new political alliances. (In Metro Toronto, where there are about 30,000 construction workers, about 100 business agents and other union employees administer the building trades unions. Eliminating overlapping duties could liberate huge resources of manpower and money for the proposed labour centres - $1,000,000 monthly)

There is little hope for change from within the power centres of organized labour today. Most union officials would agree, in their hearts, with the former president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters who said, "I'm a businessman; I deal in labour".

How can change in labour organizations be stimulated? When we analyze the problem and convince ourselves of the need, the options should be obvious. The strength of the status quo in labour is in the labour structure. Unless the structure is modified, change is hopeless.

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(waffle unionist-ed.)